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Appomattox After Sixty-two Years

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THE little hamlet of Appomattox Court House, where on April 9, 1865, the tremendous epic of the Confederacy ended, has all but disappeared. Although now and then it is proposed in Congress to make a national park here and preserve and properly mark this historic place, nothing definite has yet been done except by patriotic bodies in Virginia, particularly the United Daughters of the Confederacy, who have placed markers and kept some soldier graves in good order.

The most conspicuous houses in the village at the time of Lee's surrender were the Court House itself, now entirely gone and its site marked by a tablet, and, across the dirt road, the hotel, which still stands. To the north of the Court House and two and a half miles away there is now the thriving little town of Appomattox, on the Norfolk & Western Railway. At the time of the Civil War this was merely Appomattox station, where Sheridan swooped down and captured four trainloads of provisions sent from Lynchburg to meet Lee's army, and thus put the coup de grâce to a situa-

tion which had passed beyond human endurance.

As one rides in from the little railroad town and nears the "surrender grounds," as the locality is known, there is seen on the right of the road a little railed off graveyard where in a stiff and rigid row stand nineteen white marble headstones, identically alike. These, with a few exceptions, are marked "unknown." All those marked "unknown," except one, are the graves of Confederates; the last one in the row is that of an "Unknown Union Soldier."

Along this road we now ride upon Grant passed and with a large staff went to meet Lee at Appomattox Court House. The two Generals went into conference in a room in the McLean house, where Lee, accompanied by Colonel Marshall, was waiting for Grant. Outside in the yard Lee's horse was held by a Confederate orderly. All the other soldiers around the house were Federals.

The McLean house was a two-storied brick structure, back in a yard and fronted by a well. The well is now dry and only

the cavity in the ground marks where it stood. The outline of a fence runs about the desolate place where was once the front yard, and there still stands the footstone marking the front gate entrance. Of the house itself there remains nothing but a few piles of *débris*. It was torn down in 1893 to be transported and re-erected in some Northern city, most probably at the Chicago World's Fair, but for some reason the plan failed and the piles of brick and boards were left there to molder. At the first Battle of Manassas, known in the North as the First Battle of Bull Run, Beauregard had his headquarters in the home of Wilbur McLean. The owner, not liking the roar of the battle around his house, decided to move to quieter quarters. He journeyed south and settled finally in the sequestered hamlet of Appomattox Court House, but his plans were in vain. After four years of struggle the armies which had first clashed about the Manassas home writhed their way to this secluded spot, and in its last gasp the Army of Northern Virginia fell dying on his doorstep.

A little beyond and to the north of the McLean house, passing between the hotel and the site of the old Court House, the road leads down to the little headwaters of the Appomattox River, almost what is called in this country a branch or creek. On the brow of the hill, which we descend to reach this little river ford, stands a tablet marking the left flank of the First Division of the Fifth Army Corps of the Army of the Potomac when it was drawn up on April 11 to receive the final surrender of the arms of the few remaining soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia. A little further to the front and right, close by an old house of goodly size, a house of brick with signs of better days, stands a tablet marking where the last artillery shot of Lee's army was fired.

The little Appomattox stream drew a dividing line between the Northern and Southern forces. As we go down to the little ford where we cross it, facing north, Sheridan's troops covered the hills at our backs, while the sloping valley to our front was occupied by Lee's men. Meade was still further to the north behind Lee—the Fifth Corps ranged all about the neighborhood of the Farmville and Lynchburg

Road. Lee and his army were surrounded. On the right of the road leading up the ford and back from the present road some seventy-five feet stands a tablet showing the site of Lee's last headquarters. His tent was pitched here from April 8 to April 11. There is no sign of life here now. The ground is covered with a new growth of pine and the nearest house stands a half mile away.

APPLE-TREE MYTH

On the other side of the road, not far from the stream, we come to the tablet marking the site of the famous apple tree where Lee *did not* surrender. On the way to Appomattox Court House Lee came to this spot and rested while a courier went forward to seek word where Grant could be met. Grant says of the story of the apple tree that it was a fiction "based on a slight foundation of fact. As I have said, there was an apple orchard on the side of the hill occupied by the Confederate forces. Running diagonally up the hill was a wagon road which at one point ran very near one of the trees, so that the wheels of the vehicles had on that side cut off the roots of this tree, leaving a little embankment. General Babcock of my staff reported to me that when he met General Lee he was sitting upon this embankment with his feet in the road below and his back resting against this tree. The story had no other foundation than that."

Lee rested here at the side of this road, and when he had heard from Grant mounted his horse and rode to the village across the little stream. Quaint legends surround this scene as now related by the villagers. One tells of Lee and Grant strolling together down this road; another of how Lee and his little party, Colonel Marshall and a courier, were met by Wilbur McLean and invited to make his home the meeting place. This story is probably true and accounts for the choice of the McLean House.

The scene inside the McLean House when Grant received the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia has been described by a host of writers. The room occupied was at the left of the hall as one entered the house. It was a long room with windows at the front and the back



The spot where Grant rode out and saw Lee at the second meeting on April 10, 1865

and two doors leading into the hall. When Grant entered with his staff Lee was waiting there with Colonel Marshall. Grant was accompanied by Sheridan, Ingalls, Rawlings, Seth Williams, Barnard, Horace Porter, Babcock, Parker, Bowers, Dent and Badeau. Others—officers and members of Grant's staff—doubtless were close by. Lee was Grant's senior by sixteen years. His hair was silvery gray and he wore a full beard, also gray. He wore a new uniform, richly made, with a sword of gold, set off by jewels here and there—a sword of ceremony, not for use on the battlefield. His top boots were polished and he wore handsome spurs—some accounts say golden spurs. As he sat in the room a pair of long buckskin gauntlets and a felt hat, matching his uniform in color, lay on the table close by him. Grant says of his own costume: "I wore a rough traveling suit, the uniform of a private, with the straps of a Lieutenant General. I must have contrasted very strangely with a man so handsomely dressed, six feet high and of faultless form." Lee's costume was partly his concession to his ideas of punctilious courtesy and good form and partly because his headquarters wagon had been captured and most of his clothing lost. Grant's was due to the fact that for several days he had not been in touch with his headquarters, so far as being able to secure clothes was concerned.

Horace Porter says that Grant began the conversation by saying: "I met you once before, General Lee, while we were serving in Mexico. I have always remembered your appearance and I think I should have remembered you anywhere." Lee replied: "Yes, I know I met you there, and I have often thought of it and tried to recollect how you looked, but I have never been able to recall a single feature."

There was some further talk about Mexico, and then Lee brought to the front the question of the moment. They had a short talk about the terms of surrender and the matter which had been discussed in the several notes already exchanged between them in the passage of the armies from Amelia Court House to Appomattox. Porter's account continues:

"I think our correspondence indicated pretty clearly," said Grant, "the action that would be taken at our meeting, and I hope it may lead to a general suspension of hostilities and be the means of saving further life."

Lee inclined his head as indicating his accord with this wish, and General Grant went on to talk at some length in a very pleasant vein about the prospects of peace. Lee was evidently anxious to proceed to the formal business of the surrender, and he brought the subject up again by saying: "I presume, General Grant, we have both considered carefully the steps to be taken, and I would suggest that you commit to writing

the terms you have proposed so that they may be formally acted upon."

"Very well," said General Grant, "I will write them out." And calling for his manifold book he opened it on the table before him and proceeded to write the terms. He wrote rapidly and did not pause until he had finished the sentence ending with "officers appointed by me to receive them." Then he looked toward Lee and his eyes seemed to be resting on the handsome sword that hung at that officer's side. He said afterward that this set him to thinking that it would be an unnecessary humiliation to require the officers to surrender their swords and a great hardship to deprive them of their personal baggage and horses, and after a short while he wrote the sentence: "This will not embrace the side arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage."

LEE'S SWORD

Grant said of this moment: "The much talked of surrendering of Lee's sword and my handing it back is purest romance. The word sword was not mentioned by either of us until I wrote it in the terms. There was no premeditation, and if I had

happened to omit it and General Lee had called my attention to it, I should have put it in the terms."

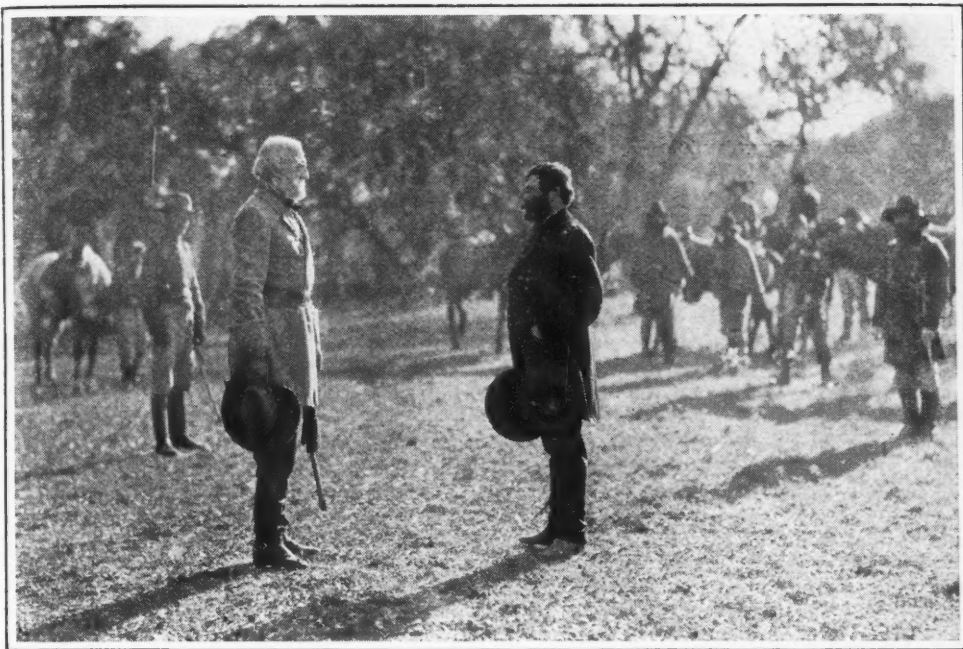
After Grant had finished writing out the terms in the form of a letter addressed to General Lee, he passed the book over to Lee and asked him to read over the letter. General Lee produced a pair of steel-rimmed spectacles, took up the book and read attentively. Occasionally he made some remark to Grant concerning some small omission or regarding some adjustment he desired. The most important matter that then came up was the extension to the privates of the privilege of taking their own horses or mules home with them. When Lee mentioned this matter Grant was quick to accede to his evident wish in the matter. "That will have a very happy effect upon our men," said General Lee. Colonel Marshall, at Lee's direction, drew up a letter accepting the terms Grant had just written down.

While the two documents were being copied General Grant introduced the general officers present and each member of his staff to Lee. There was considerable conversation before the terms and acceptance were finally signed and delivered, and the company present prepared to separate. Lee went to the porch of the house and directed that his horse be brought up. As he waited he is said to have gazed silently and sadly in the direction of the valley where his remnant of an army now reposed. He "smote his hands together in an absent sort of way," says Porter, "and seemed not to see the group of Federal officers in the yard who rose respectfully at his approach. The approach of his horse seemed to recall him from this reverie and he at once mounted. General Grant stepped down from the porch and saluted him by raising his hat. He was followed in this act of courtesy by all our officers present; Lee raised his hat respectfully and rode off to break the sad news to the brave fellows he had so long commanded."

Had Grant been a man of small nature or mean spirit the courtesy shown Lee in this matter of the officers' side arms and the men's horses would perhaps have been transformed into some petty spite against his fallen foes.



Tablet marking the site of the Old Court House at Appomattox



Wide World

This moving picture reproduction of the meeting of Grant and Lee at Appomattox was made for the Fox film version of *The Warrens of Virginia* and has the merit of being correct in its details, even if the characters are impersonated by present-day actors

Lee's Generalship had brought upon Grant and the Lincoln Administration the anathemas of a stricken and mourning North and the curses of bereaved tens of thousands. Grant had abundant cause to feel other than generous to Lee and his fragment of an army, but that the victorious General behaved as he did will always be to his honor. The South admires and has always commended that manly gesture of Grant's in the closing scene at Appomattox.

The break-up was now rapid. Lee had appointed Longstreet, Gordon and Pendleton to attend to the details of the surrender. Grant had Gibbon, Griffith and Merritt to meet them. On April 11 the remnant of the Army of Northern Virginia bearing arms marched out and surrendered formally to the First Division of the Fifth Corps, drawn up along the ridge just beyond Appomattox Court House and south of the little river.

When Lee left Appomattox he rode to Richmond. He was greeted all along the way with every evidence of affection and

high regard. A lady living about nineteen miles from the "surrender grounds" tells in a letter how she invited him to stop at her house and partake of her hospitality:

Our yard was green and the trees in bloom. As General Lee walked in the yard he spoke of how beautiful the works of God were that men were destroying. * * * He talked on very pleasantly, though he is a man of few words. Colonel G. told him I was cooking for the soldiers all day and he looked very approvingly at me. He asked if our servants had left us, and we told him that we did not know whether they would return and I remarked that the servants leaving was one result of the war that I didn't at all regret. He looked very benignly at me and said: "I am pleased to hear you say so, Madam."

"THE LAST LEE CAMP"

Possibly before reaching this lady's home, General Lee had struck tent at what is now called "The Last Lee Camp," for there is a spot just about two miles from Buckingham Court House marked by a tablet where Lee spent this first night after

leaving Appomattox to go to Richmond. A society has been formed in this county to mark this last camp site of Lee and an acre of ground has been donated and considerable money raised to enclose and properly adorn the grounds.

So Appomattox was soon left desolate, a little hamlet long unknown, now to be known the world over forever. Perhaps the South regards it with that feeling of reverence, regret and sorrow that we have for a grave of some loved thing. Perhaps the North regards it as the scene of the culmination of some great purpose. However it be regarded, it stands as one of the marked spots of earth; that is, marked on the pages of history and in the minds of men, but strangely unmarked and unnoticed so far as the material evidences with which nations and Governments adorn or commemorate their high places are concerned.

After they had separated in the yard of the McLean house Lee and Grant each rode back to his headquarters, Grant stopping on the way in a rough field to dismount and write out his telegram to Washington announcing the surrender: "General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself." The next day a significant and unrecorded thing took place—Grant wished to see Lee again! There was no business to discuss; there was no question at hand; everything had been settled; yet,

drawn by some strange attraction or impulse (was it strange?) Grant felt he wished to be in the presence of the great Confederate leader once more. He makes no explanation of it himself, but merely says: "Before leaving for the North, I felt I wanted to see Lee again."

Next day, the morning of April 10, Grant mounted his horse and, accompanied by a number of his staff and other officers, and preceded by a courier bearing a white flag, rode down the road toward the Confederate lines across the little stream. Lee, from his headquarters, saw and recognized him, and, mounting his horse, rode swiftly down to meet the Union leader. They met at a spot near the little river, a spot now designated by a tablet, and for half an hour engaged in close conversation. Grant says: "I suggested to Lee that there was not a man in the Confederacy whose influence with the soldiery and the whole people was so great as his, and that if he would advise the surrender of all the other armies I had no doubt his advice would be followed with alacrity. But Lee said that he could not do so without first consulting with the President. I knew there was no use to urge him to do anything *against his ideas of what was right*." Unconscious praise, perhaps, this remark of Grant's, but what high praise for his erstwhile foe! After a little further talk on general topics, these two men saluted each other, shook hands and parted to meet no more.



The Supreme Court Vindicates Andrew Johnson

By JAMES H. MALONE

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NOT only has the decision of the United States Supreme Court on Oct. 25, 1926, in the case of *Myers v. United States*, settled the question—much debated since the first Congress in 1789—as to whether under the Constitution the President has the exclusive power of removing executive officers whom he has appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, but it has also served to vindicate Andrew Johnson, the seventeenth President of the United States and the only Chief Executive that has so far been impeached in the history of this Republic. In arriving at that decision Chief Justice Taft and five Associate Justices held that the President has the exclusive power of removal, while three Associate Justices held the contrary, the question thus being decided by a vote of two to one.

Yet, it was because President Johnson believed and had the courage to say that the Constitution meant precisely what the Supreme Court has now ruled it to mean, that he was impeached by the House of Representatives and put on trial before an avowedly hostile Senate in 1868.

It is true that he escaped being found guilty and removed from office by only one vote, but the whole proceeding was discreditable to our political life, as is now admitted by nearly all fair-minded men of every party affiliation. To quote a recent magazine article by a writer not particularly friendly to President Johnson, "as the Senate resolved itself into a High Court of Impeachment, with Salmon P. Chase as presiding officer, more hung in balance than the mere fate of Andrew Johnson. It was the integrity of the Government of the United States that was at stake, for if impeachment were sustained, it meant the elimination of the executive branch as a coordinate factor and the elevation of the legislative branch to supreme power." So

great were partisan and sectional animosity against the South, as a result of the Civil War, and the consequent bitter feeling against Johnson, fomented by men like Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin F. Butler and Benjamin Wade, that the majority in Congress was ready to override constitutional barriers in order to wreak vengeance on the President.

Andrew Johnson's character and career have so often been misrepresented that it is only just to point out that, though he did commit errors, he was far from being a mere ignoramus and one who appealed solely to the mob. He was undoubtedly swayed by passion and acted often on the impulse of the moment, but he was intensely loyal to the Constitution and the Union. His dying request, indeed, was that his body should be wrapped in the flag of his country.

Born at Raleigh, N. C., in 1808, Johnson came of parents who lived in extreme poverty. When 4 years of age he lost his father and his mother remarried. So poor was the boy that he never went to school a single day in his life, and at 14 was apprenticed to Selby, a tailor, but he learned the alphabet from a fellow-workman. Selby allowed his employes to have some one read to them while at work. Listening to *The American Statesman*, young Johnson became deeply interested in the speeches of Pitt and Fox, and thus awoke to the importance of affairs of State. When 18 years old, with his mother and stepfather, he moved to Greenville, Tenn., in a two-wheeled cart drawn by a blind pony. Here he became employed by the only tailor in the village. In his nineteenth year Johnson was married to Eliza McCardell, a woman of refinement, who taught him how to write. In her spare moments, it is said, she read to him while he worked at the tailor's bench. His enthusi-

asm for self-education soon led him to organize a debating society among his fellow-workmen, a means of self-education of no mean order. At the same time his avidity for reading and his tireless studies by night, as well as by day, enabled him to acquire a vast fund of information, which made him the equal of the best scholars of his time and equipped him to meet successfully in debate the greatest statesman among his contemporaries.

POLITICAL CAREER

Beginning his political career as an Alderman, he became successively Mayor, State legislator, member of the United States House of Representatives, Governor of Tennessee for four years and United States Senator from Tennessee. When the Civil War broke out, though a Democrat of the old school, he declared himself as unalterably opposed to secession. Persuaded by Lincoln to resign from the Senate and become the War Governor of Tennessee, Johnson did so, and so vigorously performed his duties as to create the bitterest enemies not only in Tennessee but throughout the South.

Lincoln's appreciation of Johnson was again shown in 1864, when the President and his friends asked him to be a candidate for Vice President. The ticket was not a Republican ticket, as many now believe, for Lincoln and Johnson ran as candidates for President and Vice President on the ticket of what was known as the National Union Party. In his letter of acceptance Johnson made it clear that he accepted nomination solely as a war Democrat. Lincoln, too, desired Johnson on the ticket because he was known as a war Democrat. The ticket was elected, and when Lincoln was assassinated Johnson succeeded to the Presidency on April 15, 1864.

William L. Frierson, former Solicitor General of the United States, very truly said in a paper read before the Tennessee State Bar Association in 1923 that Johnson, on becoming President, "faced the most difficult and discouraging task that has ever fallen to the lot of an American statesman. Four years of civil war were drawing to a close and the problem of the immediate future was the establishment, in the seceded States, of such gov-

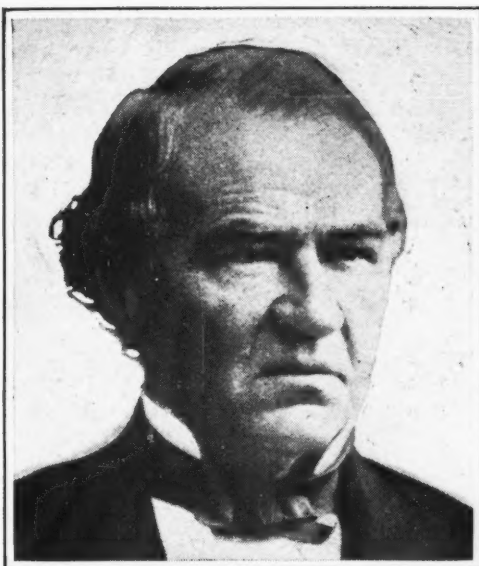
ernments as would mean a real restoration of the Union. Already there had begun a struggle over this question. Lincoln, with a big heart and a broad statesmanship, stood for a liberal and pacific policy of reconstruction. A strong element of his party in Congress, led by Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner and others of their school of thought, were demanding harsh and punitive measures. The need of the hour was for a great diplomat and conciliator and as Mr. Frierson rightly pointed out, Johnson was neither.

All antecedents were influences in the opposite direction. He had arisen from poverty and illiteracy by sheer force of will. He feared no man, as illustrated on the occasion when a body of men entered a railroad coach to assassinate him, and he, having heard of their purpose, boldly met them, pistol in hand, and so cowed them that they retired. Another time, having heard that he was to be shot down when he mounted the platform to make a speech, he quietly laid a pistol on the desk, stated what he had heard, and added: "If this is true, let us first shoot it out, and then proceed with the program." No one responding, he remarked that it appeared that the report was a mistake, and then delivered his address as if nothing unusual had occurred.

In his inaugural address Johnson declared that he felt incompetent to perform duties as important and responsible as those which had been so unexpectedly cast upon him, and that the only assurance that he could give for the future was by referring to the past, for the best energies of his life had been spent in endeavoring to establish and perpetuate the principles of a free government. Evidently the great responsibilities of the office of President had sobered his fiery temperament and a broader vision of the future dawned on him.

PRESIDENT VERSUS CONGRESS

Both the House and the Senate were overwhelmingly Republican. Johnson was an old-time Democrat. There was but one article of political faith that had been held in common by the President, a lone man sitting in the White House, and Congress enthroned at the Capitol, and that was the



ANDREW JOHNSON
Seventeenth President of the United States

preservation of the Union at all costs. That struggle had ended; the Union had been preserved; and soon President and Congress were to come into conflict.

Harking back to the one great passion that had so long engrossed all his energies,—that is, the preservation of the Union and fighting the Confederates, whom he always denounced as rebels and traitors in the bitterest terms—Johnson issued his proclamation on May 2, 1865, offering a reward of \$100,000 for the arrest of Jefferson Davis and smaller sums for the capture of other Confederate leaders. However, it soon appeared that he was for pursuing a pacific course similar to that foreshadowed by Lincoln, and that he was opposed to negro suffrage.

On May 29, 1865, Johnson issued what was called his general amnesty proclamation, offering pardon to certain persons who had directly or by implication participated in the rebellion. There were excepted from the amnesty all persons composing fourteen different classes, so that in point of fact it did not grant general amnesty. Seized upon by his enemies and denounced as the act of a traitor, this proclamation was the means of bringing into clear view the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between the President and the radical

wing of the Republican Party led by Thaddeus Stevens, who had been disappointed by Lincoln's refusal to give him a seat in his Cabinet.

Johnson proclaimed provisional Governors for several of the Southern States, which were reorganized. The first open breach came when the Freedman's Bureau bill was passed over the President's veto. About June, 1866, the Republicans brought forward the plan for reconstruction called the "Congressional Plan," the chief features of which were to give the negroes the right to vote and to prevent their former owners, who were Confederates, from voting; then followed a "rider" on an Army Appropriation bill providing that the President, though declared Commander-in-Chief of the Army in the Constitution, should give his orders to the army only through the General, who could not be removed without the consent of the Senate. On March 2, 1867, the President vetoed both the "Congressional Plan" for the reconstruction of the Southern States and what was called the Tenure-of-Office act. This act provided that civil officers should remain in office until the confirmation of their successors by the Senate; in other words the power of removal from office was taken from the President, unless that removal was confirmed by the Senate. It was a similar act that the Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional in the case already mentioned.

The President was thus brought face to face with a hostile Congress, more than two-thirds of each house consisting of Republican members, while among the Cabinet officers he inherited from Lincoln was Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, who soon let his hostility to Johnson be publicly known. Recognizing the crisis now facing him, he moved with far greater caution than would have been expected. On Aug. 5, 1867, he wrote to Stanton that public considerations constrained him to say that his resignation as Secretary of War would be accepted. Contrary to all canons of propriety, Stanton brusquely refused to resign, whereupon Johnson suspended him and directed General U. S. Grant to act as Secretary of War for the time being.

It was this act that led to the impeachment of the President. There were eleven

articles of impeachment, nine of which related to the removal of Stanton from office as violating the recent legislation passed by Congress to render the President impotent and a mere figurehead. Johnson accepted the challenge with coolness and audacity, but he suffered from an added disadvantage in that he did not have a solid South behind him, for he had so bitterly fought against the Confederates.

BLAINE'S ATTITUDE

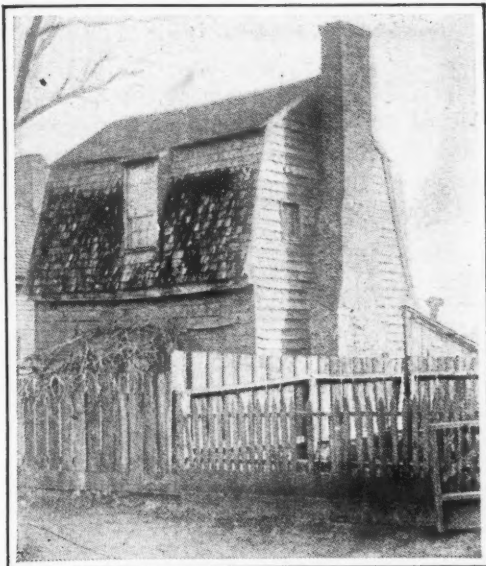
How completely partisan politics had usurped the place of all reason and the usual proprieties of life is illustrated by the part taken by Senator James G. Blaine and Senator John Sherman, regarded as leaders of their party. "Mr. Blaine, who was in Congress at the time," said Chief Justice Taft, when stating his opinion in the case of *Myers v. United States*, "in afterward speaking of this [Tenure-of-Office] bill, said: 'It was an extreme proposition—a new departure from the long-established usage of the Federal Government—and for that reason, if for no other, personally degrading to the incumbent of the Presidential chair. It could only have grown out of abnormal excitement created by dissensions between the two departments of the Government. * * * The measure was resorted to as one of self-defense against the alleged aggressions and unrestrained power of the executive department.' (*Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, 273, 274.)" When the Tenure-of-Office act was defeated in the Senate and attention was called to the fact that under its broad provisions the President could not even remove one of his own Cabinet officers, Senator Sherman was very sensitive to the proprieties of the occasion, and said: "If I supposed that either of these gentlemen was so wanting in manhood, in honor, as to hold his place after the politest intimation by the President of the United States that his services were no longer needed, I certainly, as a Senator, would consent to his removal at any time, and so would we all." But partisan feeling afterward ran so high, as pointed out by Mr. Frierson, that the high sense of propriety previously expressed by Senator Sherman was thrown to the winds, and on Jan. 13, 1868, a resolution was adopted to the ef-

fect that the Senate did not concur in the suspension of Stanton. The House of Representatives impeached the President on Feb. 24, 1868; he was put on trial on March 30, and the test vote was taken on May 16.

Johnson was quoted as saying: "By the eternal, I will fight them to death!" Early in the trial all the proprieties were disregarded. The rulings of the Chief Justice as to the admission of evidence and the like were overruled and flouted. Meanwhile, the wife of Johnson's early life, the woman who had taught him to read and write and made it possible for him to occupy the highest office in the land, lay dying in the White House, as he sat at her bedside, broken hearted. But this sad spectacle made no impression on those who were bent on Johnson's destruction. The bitter struggle went on from day to day, and long before the vote was taken it was known to all the world exactly how every Senator except one would vote. The vote in doubt was that of Edmund G. Ross of Kansas, a Republican, and it was the deciding vote.

Thirty-five Republicans intended to vote "guilty"; all the Democrats and six Republicans intended to vote "not guilty". Every conceivable pressure was brought to bear on Ross. He knew that, if he voted "not guilty," it meant his political death, and it is said that he was even threatened with assassination; but to all inquiries he had but one answer, and that was, in substance: "I will vote according to the evidence and as my conscience dictates." The climax came on May 16, 1868, when the roll of the Senate was called and each Senator voted as he was expected. When, at last, the name of Ross was called, amid the deepest silence he answered in a firm voice, "Not guilty." In spite of the excitement that ensued, the lone man sitting in the White House showed not the least emotion. It was enough for him to know that in his acquittal the integrity of the Government of the United States had been vindicated and that it would be preserved, and moreover that posterity would see and understand that he was right when he stood by the Constitution he venerated, in the face of the most difficult situation that ever faced any President.

Superficial writers have been accus-



The birthplace of Andrew Johnson at Raleigh, N. C. The building, now preserved by the Colonial Dames of Raleigh, stands in Pullen Park, in that city

tomed to depict Johnson as a mere haranguer of mobs. This is a great mistake. His public services covered the Administrations of two Presidents from Tennessee, those of Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk, and he supported the policies of both. In those years Tennessee ranked about the fifth State of the Union both in population and in wealth. There were giants in those days in Tennessee, leading the Whig, Democratic and other parties. Johnson met them all and triumphantly.

THE LAST PHASE

Early in 1872 I went to Memphis from just across the line in Mississippi. I had no prepossessions in favor of Johnson, and neither I nor my ancestors belonged to that class which some writers are pleased to call "poor white trash," and to which they allege Johnson made his appeals. The former President was then

running as an independent Democrat for Governor of Tennessee, and I heard him make one speech. Neither before nor since have I ever heard an address that made a profounder impression on me. Moreover, the very things that he prophesied would happen in Tennessee in case his opponent was elected actually took place, for Mr. Johnson was defeated. However, in 1875 he was again elected to the United States Senate, not by a mob, but by the Legislature of Tennessee. He made only one speech after entering the Senate for the last time—one in which it is admitted that he showed his old ability. Soon after he suddenly died from a stroke of apoplexy, and thus ended one of the most remarkable careers among the statesmen of our country.

The case which was recently decided by the Supreme Court and which has vindicated Johnson's stand arose from the appointment by President Wilson of Frank S. Myers as Postmaster at Portland, Ore. The Senate confirmed the appointment, but subsequently the President removed Myers from office without asking the consent of the Senate, because he believed such consent unnecessary under the Constitution. Myers sued for his salary, insisting that the



The old tailor shop of Andrew Johnson at Greeneville, Tenn., now enclosed in the Memorial Building. It is a one-room house and is probably over a hundred years old

President had no power of removal unless the removal was approved by the Senate. The cause was argued at length and taken under advisement. The court, evidently appreciating the importance of the issue, ordered a reargument of the case. Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, who was retained to represent Congress, appeared and participated in the second elaborate hearing. Of the three dissenting Justices two, namely McReynolds of Tennessee and Brandeis, were appointed by President Wilson. Although the constitutionality of President Wilson's act in removing Myers without the consent of the Senate was the sole question at stake, each of these Justices voted his act illegal, supporting their views with lengthy and somewhat warm opinions. The other dissenting opinion came from Justice

Holmes, the oldest in age and service on the bench and a Republican in politics. Chief Justice Taft delivered the majority opinion and with him concurred three other Republican Justices, including Mr. Justice Sanford from Tennessee, and one Democrat, all of whom upheld President Wilson's interpretation of the Constitution.

Although this important constitutional question had provoked the most intense partisan debates, it is reassuring to find that, when it came before our court of last resort, it was decided by each individual Justice without any suggestion or appearance of political motive. This then is the vindication of a President who was no less loyal and devoted to his country than he was remarkable as a man.



American Civilizations Before 1492

By M^{ARTHA} RUTLEDGE ALLEN

An educator now engaged in Archaeological Research

THERE are a variety of theories to account for the presence of the Indian in Central America and Mexico. Some writers assert that he is descended from the lost tribes of Israel; others, from the Chinese or Tartars; still others, from the house of Noah, declaring with much positiveness that some of Noah's offspring came to the shores of America in ships constructed on the model of the patriarch's famous houseboat. One author considers it highly probable that Oriental Free Masons migrated to Central America, profoundly influencing the Mayan religious mysteries. Certain passages are quoted from Aristotle to prove that the Carthaginians settled in Guatemala after one of their most adventurous voyages. Finally, another insists that Central America, not India, was the cradle of the human race.

Scholars at present are occupied less with this matter of origin and more with discovering and weighing the evidence of the ancient civilization. It would be interesting to be able to date the events on this continent with exactness, but the insufficient records make this impossible. The depth of the deposits of the Archaic Period makes it certain, however, that the beginning dates back to 4,000 B. C., although it is possible that agriculture may have a still earlier origin. One archaeologist thinks it possible that the importance of the feathered serpent in the worship of the people may point to the existence of primitive man on this continent in the age of the pterodactyl.

Attention has been called repeatedly of late to the remains of the Mayan civilization, but far less often to the traces of the past which are to be found over a considerable area in Mexico. It is commonly thought that all the culture of Mexico was Aztec, but this is far from being the case. The central part of Mexico was occupied successively by a number of migratory tribes, presumably of the same race, the Nahuas; the first of them were the Toltecs

and the last, and by no means the most civilized, the Aztecs. It is only because they were in command of the situation on the arrival of Cortez that the Aztecs are regarded as the only original Mexicans.

The Toltecs appeared on the plateau of Mexico in the sixth century, only to dwindle and scatter to the south at the beginning of the eleventh century, when the more barbarous Chichimecs began to appear. Tribe after tribe kept arriving in succession from the north, until, in 1376, the Aztecs became dominant. The modern State of Oaxaca, in the south of Mexico, was ruled and for the most part inhabited by the Zapotecs and Miztecs. When we first hear of the Zapotecs, they had conquered almost the whole of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and some of the Miztec tribe. They were a brave and warlike people, who, although they were subjugated by the Aztecs in 1458, regained their liberty in the latter part of the century. The Tlascalans, the Ottomies, the Olmecs, as well as the State of Michoacán, retained their independence of the Aztecs.

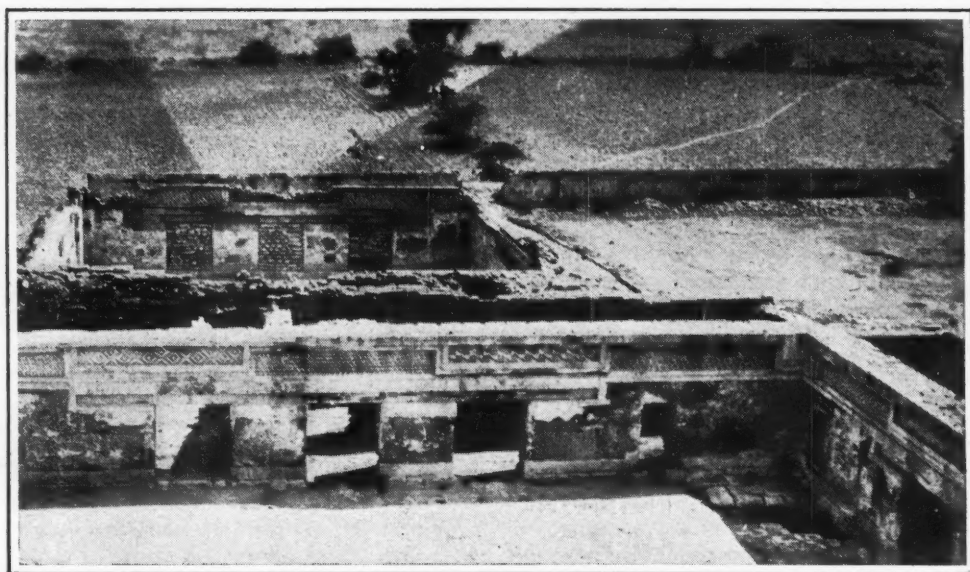
Throughout Mexican and Mayan art the building unit is the court or plaza, around which grew an assemblage of impressive edifices. There is usually a rectangular mound, from which rise several temples. This habit of erecting temples on the base of pyramids which one finds throughout Mexico and Central America differentiates this aboriginal architecture from that of Egypt, where the pyramid is always regarded as a structure important in itself. Again, whereas in the Orient so much artistic expression is to be found in the tombs of kings, aboriginal American art has always a dominant religious note. Except for the palaces of the priests and nobles, all the architecture of the Mexicans and Mayans, including most of their decoration, betokens a profound impulse to give a permanent form to the spiritual ideas. The extraordinary animal faces of the gods; the repetition of the serpent motive;



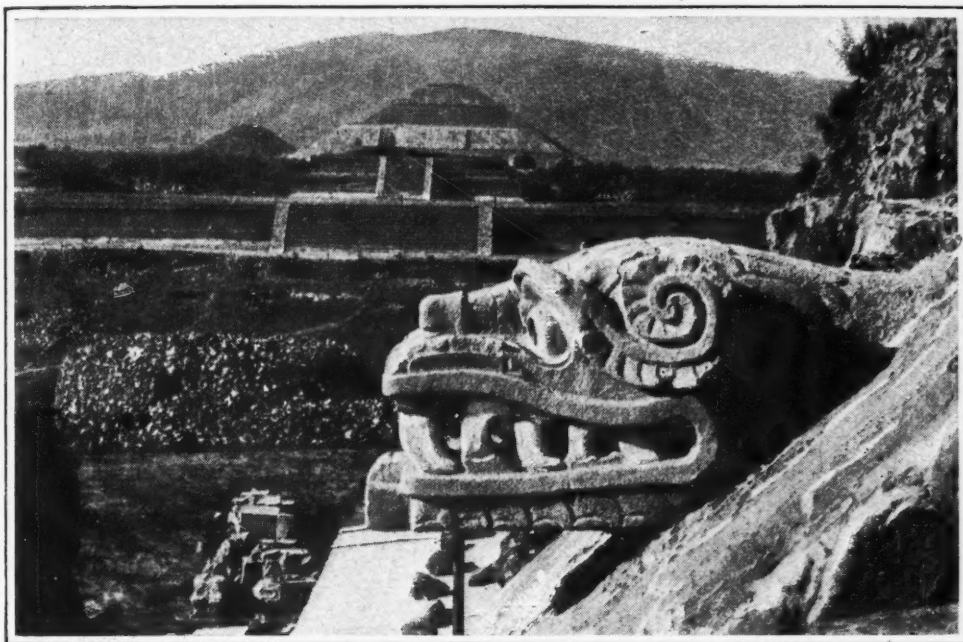
Ruins of Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico

the complex geometric patterns which are unknown to the art which is germane to our blood; and our almost total lack of apprehension of the meaning of their religious symbolism, are all real barriers to our understanding of the primitive Americans. Familiarity with their art, however, never fails to awaken admiration for their

knowledge of composition and for their foreshortening, which is better than that of the Egyptians, even if we are repelled by the constant use in their decoration of symbols which have probably always, as representative of the powers of the creation, been objects of worship and reverence to simple early races.



Building found among the ruins at Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico



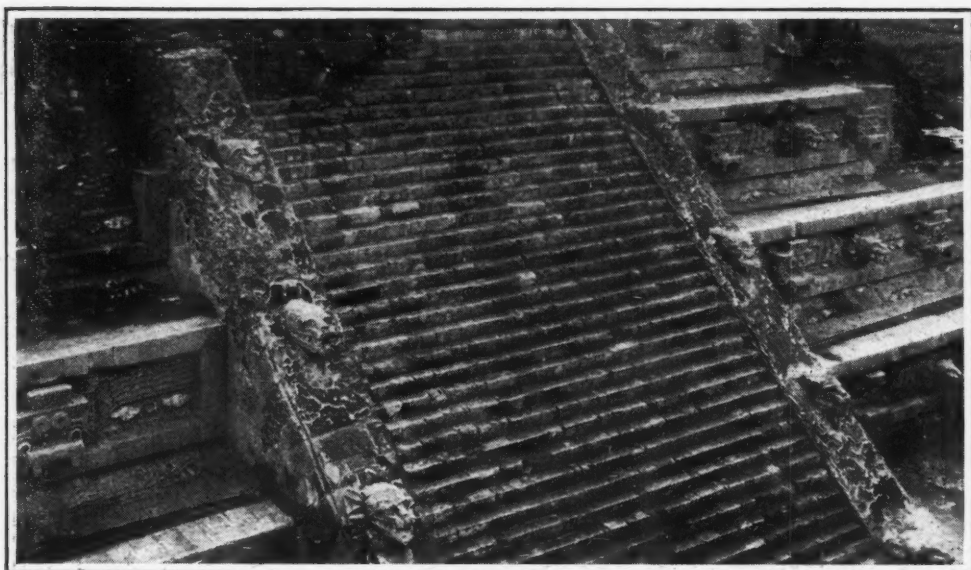
Pyramid of the Sun and the Moon, with the Temple of Quetzalcoatl in the foreground. (San Juan Teotihuacán)

Perhaps the oldest human monument in America is Cuicuilco ("Meeting Place for Singing and Dancing"), a three-tier pyramid, which is only half an hour by motor from Mexico City. Professor Byron Cummings of the University of Arizona recently undertook the excavation of this mound at the request of Dr. Manuel Gamio and with the assistance of the Mexican Government. The original pyramid was a truncated cone 412 feet in diameter and 52 feet in height, surmounted by a dancing platform and an altar in the shape of a horseshoe. It was built at a period when men knew only how to heap one stone upon another. The inclination of the pile at an angle of 45 degrees and the weight of the blocks of andesite and basalt have preserved the monument amazingly.

When the digging began, the mound lay buried beneath 15 to 17 feet of sand, clay and rock, under which again was a deep layer of lava, covering the platform at the summit to a depth of 18 feet. The eruption of the volcano Ajusco in some forgotten era served not only to preserve this ancient monument but to date it. The

Pedragal, a flow of lava some fifteen miles long and three miles wide, which occurs in this neighborhood and which is declared by geologists to be 7,000 years old, is not to be found on Cuicuilco, but rather lava from an unquestionably earlier flow. Dr. Cummings believes that the mound was reared by Americans who lived at least 8,000 years ago. On reaching the summit of this mountain, made by the labor of primitive man, one finds the ancient altar of rough, unchiseled stones, calling up a vision of a circle of naked, hairy savages squatting, with their bodies swaying to the rhythm of their tuneless hymns of worship. Five or six Phallic stones at the base of the pyramid are evidence that, in common with the peoples of ancient Greece and Rome, India, Egypt and Central America, this early race was Phallus-worshipping.

Of the considerable group of pyramids scattered about Mexico, Cholula, near Puebla, is famous for its great Toltec pyramid, which, with a base line of 1,060 feet, rises 200 feet in the air. It was the only Toltec shrine which was venerated by the people on the arrival of the Spaniards.



Stairway of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, San Juan Teotihuacán, Mexico

It covers twice as much ground space as Cheops, in Egypt, but, because it is grass-grown and surmounted by a modern church, appears singularly unimpressive.

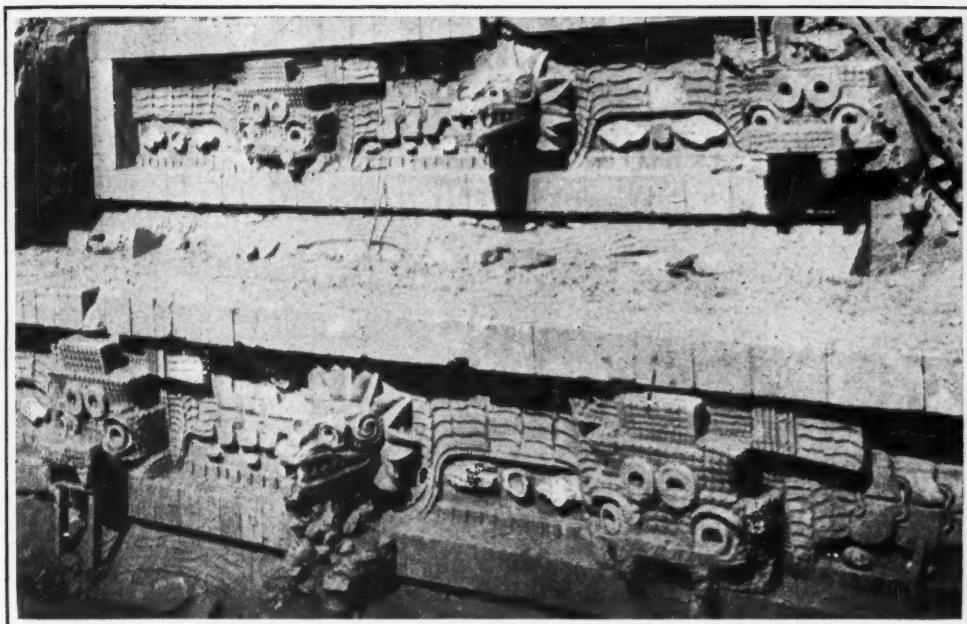
Teotihuacán ("Place of Those Who Adore the Gods"), is, on the contrary, impressive in a vast, elemental way like the Egyptian pyramids. The giant four-tiered Pyramid of the Sun, though really much smaller than Cholula, is a mammoth pile which rises, brown, austere and noble, from the plain against a clear blue skyline. It measures about 700 feet along the base, the sides rising at an angle of 45 degrees to a platform nearly 100 feet square. To climb to the top is somewhat difficult in that altitude, but the effort is rewarded by a view of peaceful country dotted with many other pyramids rising on all sides.

The recently excavated Temple of Quetzalcoatl has a great stairway flanked with splendidly carved snake heads, wearing enormous ruffs, and terraces elaborately decorated with obsidian butterflies and the plumed God-Serpent, Quetzalcoatl, chiseled in magnificent reliefs in which he twists with super-life and power. If death were symbolized by the rattle on the tail and immortality by the feathers on the body, it is understandable that a gifted sculptor

might make of that great conception a thing really potent.

Teotihuacán illustrates the tendency of the Mexican Indian, as well as the Mayan, to group buildings of varying sizes around a quadrangular court. Doubtless on the great feast days a thousand years ago this vast space, with its terraced mounds crowned with stepped platforms, was crowded with thousands upon thousands of robed Indians breathlessly watching the priests ascend the long stone staircase of the God-Snake, waiting for the headless body of the human victim to be thrown to them.

About four miles by horseback from the City of Oaxaca lies Monte Albán, presumably the ancient capital of the Zapotecs. These men of other days had a genius for selecting the noblest situations for purposes of worship. The temples which must once have crowned the pyramids have crumbled long ago, whereas the whole mountain is a vast quadrangle made of a succession of terraces, bordered by an aggregation of mounds, as yet grass-covered. The valley shows hazily a thousand feet below, and a blue range of mountains stretches off in the distance. Here are monoliths somewhat like those of the



Plumed serpent carvings on the Temple of Quetzalcoatl

Mayas, and amulets and figurines and hieroglyphs distinctly resembling early Mayan models. This debt to their southern neighbors is natural, since only a short stretch of country separates Oaxaca, land of the Zapotecs, from Guatemala, land of the early Mayas.

The ruins at Mitla, which are probably better known than any others in Mexico, are also reached from Oaxaca. Mitla is interesting for a perfect development of the formal quadrangular grouping about courts. The blocks employed in the building are, according to Joyce, "not uniform but cut and fitted to a particular place, over 80,000 blocks being used in one quadrangle alone. The blocks taper somewhat at the back, so that they were set in the mortar as a tooth in the gum, a feature seen also in the Maya buildings." The geometric patterns cut in stone on the walls are finely wrought and are undoubtedly designs from the textiles of the period. The gigantic stones used in the lintel blocks, many tons in weight, were transported down the mountainside with an engineering skill which would awaken admiration even nowadays.

The narrow chambers at Mitla are sup-

posed to have been built for the tombs of royalty, priests dwelling there to honor the illustrious dead with services. Although the place represents thus the defeat of human power, yet there lingers about the noble courts a curious feeling of pomp and circumstance. A Mexican writer says: "There are peoples who erect magnificent temples for the dead because, reflecting that this life is brief and transitory, they consider that it is not worth the trouble to construct them for the living."

The Mayas who inhabited chiefly Northern Honduras, Guatemala and Yucatan, were, by the test of language, more advanced than the Mexicans who, save for a few signs, wrote by means of pictures; the Mayas used hieroglyphs like the Egyptians, showing a step toward an alphabet. Thus they were in this regard far ahead of the Incas, who tied knots in strings as their only method of preserving the important state records. The Toltecs and Zapotecs received from the Mayas their calendar and also some of the elements which went into the development of their cultures; the Toltecs in turn contributed much to the late period of the Mayas, whereas the Aztecs borrowed everything which they



Temple of Tigers, Chichen-Itza, Yucatan

found in the Toltec civilization which preceded them.

Dr. Manuel Gamio reported not long ago that he had found archaic remains twenty-five feet below the surface in the mountainous region of Guatemala, and in the Spring of 1926 the Mexican Government made public its find of a pre-Mayan city in Chiapas. Not enough information is yet available regarding the excavations for us to be able to date the crude remains with accuracy, but all discoveries of this type are of the most extreme importance in linking our knowledge of the known Mayan to the unknown Archaic Period.

By the test of science the Mayas deserve great respect. Dr. A. M. Tozzer, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard, says: "It was not until 1582 that the Julian day count was invented, which corresponded to the Maya day count, 2,000 years after the same principles had been adopted by the Mayas." Not only did the Mayan scholars take remarkably accurate astronomical observations with the naked eye, but Lindsay's discovery shows that they were acquainted with some form of water level.

Dr. Morley of the Carnegie Institute

gives the period of the flowering of Mayan culture as the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian era. Bowditch suggests a date 256 years earlier, and other archaeologists suggest still other dates according to different interpretations of the same manuscripts. The Old Empire, according to Morley, extended over the first six centuries of this era. During this period the Mayas sojourned in Chiapas and Tabasco (Mexico), in Guatemala and in Honduras. The New Empire followed and lasted until the Spanish Conquest in 1541. The New Empire has left records which give a bare framework of the events from the time of the colonizing of Yucatán to the Spanish Conquest, but there are no such sources available for the Old, in regard to which we are obliged to rely entirely on hieroglyphics and inscriptions, on sculpture and architecture.

The earliest object the date of which is certain is the Tuxtla Statuette—100 B. C.—which is now in our National Museum. It was found in the State of Vera Cruz, where the Totonac Indians lived, and where no other Maya remains have been discovered. It cannot be doubted that before the first



Ruins of Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico

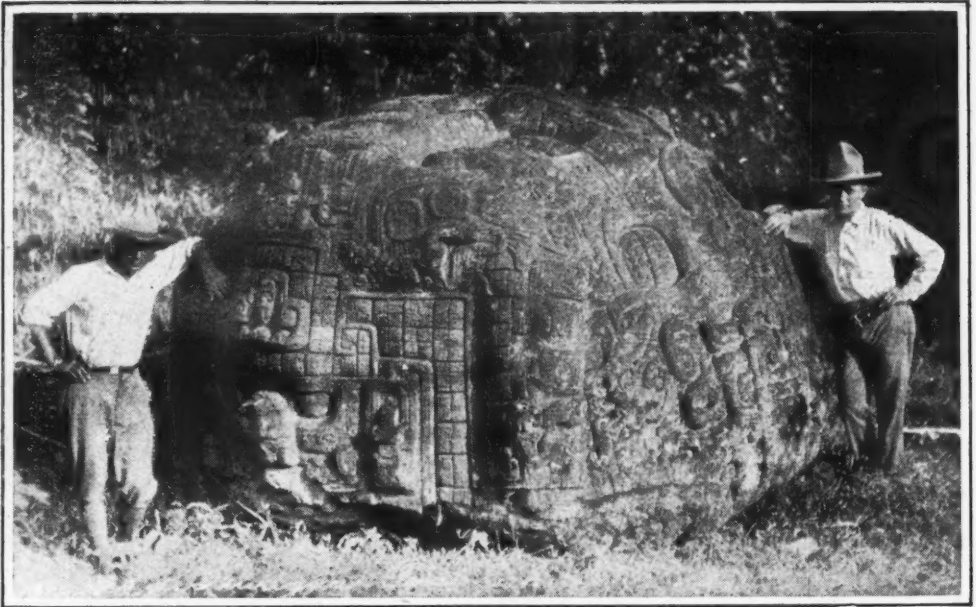
century there was a long period during which the culture of the Mayas was developing, for at this date they already had a highly developed astronomical system. The earliest inscriptions also are formed with a completeness which shows a preceding development of symbols.

The first four great Mayan cities were Tikal, Copán, Piedras Negras and Naranjo. Palenque's splendid temples came a little later, and in her sculpture she made frequent use, like the Mexicans, of the symbol of the cross. The earliest Mayan sculpture was in very low relief, but by the year 520 sculpture in the round had developed, a number of cities were leading a highly organized life and they had developed a style in architecture. Yet for some reason which we cannot understand, in sixty years only three of these flourishing cities remained. Spinden's opinion is that a decadence in art, morals and politics caused the decline of the cities and brought about the migration northward into Yucatán—a migration which probably took several centuries to complete. Huntington surmises that agriculture and health were threatened and that yellow fever had broken out. Certainly the swampy condi-

tion of Petén today makes it unfit to support a large population. Then, too, the primitive method of agriculture, which consists of burning the forest in the dry season and planting at the beginning of the rains, in time causes perennial grass to take root. Once this process is complete the land is unfit for cultivation.

While this exodus from a variety of causes was going on, Morley holds that there was another migration to the south, which laid the basis of the later civilization of Guatemala—for the cultures of the Quichés and other tribes of the mountain regions—civilizations which remained until the coming of the Spaniards.

Chichen-Itza, where the Carnegie Institute has been excavating for the last few years, was founded by the Mayas about 520 A. D., and by the beginning of the seventh century the rest of Yucatán was beginning to be well colonized. More cities were founded, and people from Tabasco and Chiapas, speaking the Mayan language, came in great numbers as colonists. Chichen-Itza became a city with a population presumably of 250,000, and Mayapán and Uxmal being established in the early part of the eleventh century, the three cities



A great sacrificial stone at Quirigua, Guatemala. The grooves on top were used for the blood of the victims

made a triple alliance by virtue of which they agreed to share amicably in Mayan government. In 1190 the treaty was cast to the winds, and Toltecs, who were appearing from Mexico, joined the ruler of Chichen-Itza against his former allies and the cities destroyed themselves by civil wars. Famine probably assisted in the disintegrating process, which was practically complete on the coming of the Spaniard. According to Dr. Gann, the degeneration of the Mayas had really begun three and a half centuries before. Although the most advanced of the American aborigines, they took over certain elements from the life of the Toltecs, among which were the worship of the sun disk, ceremonial basketball (a feature of the Toltec rites) and religious cannibalism. The Mayas, however, never went to the blood excesses of the Aztecs.

The Mayas did not employ large masses of stone in their buildings as the Zapotecs did at Mitla in their giant lintels; in fact, as masons they were behind Bolivia and Peru; but that they had the engineering knowledge to manipulate stones of vast weight is proved by the enormous monoliths at Copán and Quirigua. At Quirigua (founded 450 B. C.), Guatemala, there are

to be seen impressive giant stelae on which are carved figures of heroic size. At various points in the field in which they stand are huge boulders, carved to represent crabs and frogs. There is, too, a sacrificial stone some eight feet high, grooved at the top. Walking up half a dozen steps, trodden 1,400 years ago by the feet of Mayan worshipers and priests, one finds on three sides of a plaza the ruins of ancient temples, with occasionally a bit of carving visible. What had filled the space in front in the days of the old gods could only be conjectured; today noble Guatemalan trees are massed together there, mystery brooding in their luxuriant beauty.

Chichen-Itza represents the decadent period of Mayan art, both because of the foreign flavor which is a result of the Toltec occupation and because of the over-elaborateness of design which always shows that pure feeling for line and composition is vanishing. It is a fruitful field, however, for study, since it has a very large number of ruins in a splendid state of preservation. Throughout Yucatán, indeed, there is a rich mine for archaeological research.

Do Our Intellectuals Traduce America?

I. Belittling American Ideals

By CATHERINE B. ELY

Literary Critic

UNTIL recently America has had more absorbing concerns than the fostering of a picked and graded intellectual class. The Puritans, with a very definite dislike for the sophisticated élite of Europe, came to these shores to found a sturdy middle class. Titled adventurers of Colonial days came hither seeking practical advantages or a valiant career. Cynical aloofness was not characteristic of these stalwart discoverers, nor of their immediate descendants, the earnest-minded founders of our Republic. The heritage of pioneer conditions and the fact of geographical isolation preserved America for two centuries from the pathological superculture of ancient civilization.

In the two last decades, however, great social and economic changes have taken place in the United States of America. Enlarged vocational opportunities and material well-being based on thriving industry have produced in our country what such conditions always tend to produce in every country—an exclusive coterie of the cultured. The enormously increased facilities for world communication in the last ten years have done much to determine the trend of this new school of writers and critics toward the blasé philosophies of effete peoples, now so easily accessible to an imitative and mechanically uniform New World intelligentsia.

"Machine-made" applies to our modern intellectuals more than to any other class in America. In spite of the emphasis which they put on individuality they conform to a set pattern of expression, of mental habit, of social tendencies. Their attitude toward each other, toward "the herd," toward their public, if they have one, is stereotyped. Their opinions on current topics are so uniform that an observer of their mental complexes can calculate, without too much brain cudgeling, what

their attitude will be toward any given situation.

Let a definition serve as a compass for logical consistency. According to the intention of this discussion an intellectual is one who consciously directs his mental processes in the sophisticated and exclusive groove prescribed by his clique. Although he may pride himself on his originality, he is by reason of his self-conscious mental habit usually highly imitative. Standardization implies the conforming of a class to the type, model or authority which serves as a criterion of excellence for that class. The standardization of the intellectuals conforms to the mental pattern which is in vogue for the time being among highly self-conscious moderns.

Many American writers, artists, professional men and women, and thoughtful persons are by no means intellectuals. Because of their spontaneity and heterogeneity they influence public opinion much less subtly or insidiously than does the entrenched and standardized intellectual group. Although the intellectuals affect scorn of Main-Streeters, they have a very clever scent for publicity and are peculiarly adroit in parading their mental attitudes along Main Street. They form mutual admiration clubs among themselves, and their piquant tributes to each other find a way into newspapers and periodicals, and furnish conversational anecdotes. As artist-philosophers, gilt-edge radicals and ironical realists, in word and print they flirt with a public which they affect to despise, and color the opinions of the day.

For this reason they must be taken into account among the influences upon modern life. If their viewpoint is false and futile, their cleverness in getting an audience makes them a blight upon modern thought and living. A witty scoffer at what aver-

age men and women consider serious matters, and a jaunty assailant of "bourgeois" customs, the intellectual takes himself with tremendous seriousness. His clique through its solidarity and self-advertising is undoubtedly a factor in the modern problem.

THEORISTS OF NEGATION

These intellectuals comprise our sophisticates, many of whom are propagandists of theories of negation. The sophisticates blink in the sun, and proclaim the sun a myth. By a paradox these assailants of literal-mindedness are themselves literalists, in that they lack spiritual imagination. Although they consider themselves experts in up-to-date thinking, they miss life in its highest contacts.

The standardization and class-consciousness of the intellectual cause him to show caressing friendliness to members of his own mentally allied clique and derision or indifference to the outsider. Although he berates intolerance, he has no hospitality for those whose mental bias he considers inferior or antagonistic to his own. His predominant characteristic is intellectual pride, and pride of intellect is the supreme hauteur. The social snob, the moneyed snob, have a superficial sense of superiority which is trivial in comparison to the deep, fierce pride of intellect characteristic of the intellectual snob. When the intellectuals have the inside track in the field of book reviews, art criticism and coterie-influenced publications, they brook no intrusion from the less clever and more naïve writer, who is fundamentally incapable of, or adverse to, fitting into the mental niche of the simon-pure intellectual. In spite of their clamor for individuality and freedom, the intellectuals are more clannish than any other class. On any question of public concern, in any pronouncement upon literature or art, the reaction of one intellectual resembles that of all the others and finds expression in the jargon of his class.

The intellectuals cultivate social exclusiveness. Through clique-rendezvous, pet sobriquets for each other and sprightly allusions to their intimate personal associations, they obtain added publicity for themselves and their theories. They are adepts in disdain—and disdain makes an

easy short-cut to triumph over an awkward opponent. Their social prominence with its adroit publicity gives them a vantage-ground for aiming shafts of derision at the uninitiated climber whom they consider outside the pale, because he has no intellectual pose and does not conform to their pattern.

They ridicule the middle class in so far as it falls short in appreciation for standardized gloom, fashionable cynicism and the latest importation in decadence. An honest and capable writer may fail to come much in contact with the middle class, which, after all, constitutes the general public, because he is outside the dominant literary clique, and without the knack for publicity. In this way the public loses a good deal of healthy art and literary nourishment, and is oversupplied with the outpourings of the sophisticates. This absorption by the public of the cynical output of the intellectuals has a national aspect which demands serious consideration. A nation cannot continually drink bitter waters without deteriorating.

Because he is thoroughly standardized and abnormally self-conscious, the intellectual lacks originality. He is acutely mimetic, with a flair for picking up that which conforms to his standard, whether it be Oriental, European or American. This pecking and scratching for tidbits in international soil strengthens his conviction of his own broad-mindedness. He assimilates mental fads easily and arduously develops the borrowed "ism," ambitious to exceed the foreign source.

This fashionable literary standardization is alien to beauty in nature, art and life. The intellectual, conforming as he does to the standard of his imitative and self-conscious class, does not submit to the conditions of entrance into the kingdom of beauty. The follower after beauty must be humble; but pride is breath in the nostrils of the intellectual. The genuine seeker of beauty struggles over an inconspicuous trail, unconscious of an audience. The intellectual, a component part of his clique, posing and demonstrating before an audience, achieves the mental fad of the moment, be it realism, naturalism, artificial emotionalism, or barren analysis. He sonorously declaims beauty; he in-

scribes her name on his standard, but he does not intimately know her. Such intimate knowledge comes not "in the wind and the fire," but in the "still small voice."

The articulate, demonstrative intellectual is too busy expressing himself to hear the whispered music of beauty. He dashes along the favorite highways of standardized mental traffic, while beauty lurks in the cool quiet hinterland.

OPPOSITION TO CHURCHES

Spiritual beauty does not manifest itself in barren abstractions. The intellectual may patronizingly commend religion in the abstract, but he opposes every form of organized Christianity, failing to recognize that life always organizes, assumes concrete form, and coordinates its forces in order to work more effectively. A religious organization ought to come under the definition of an organism—"a body composed of different organs or parts performing special functions that are mutually dependent and essential to life."

True religion organizes in order to serve, but the intellectual conforms to the standardized type of his class in order to establish the boundaries of his exclusive superiority. To enter the realm of spiritual beauty, one must die to pride of intellect. The intellectual is neither teachable nor childlike; his sophistication has replaced "the sense of wonder," which stimulates spiritual imagination. His mental attitude opposes Christ's "Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Christ, who knew man, repudiated the philosophy of the intellectuals—"I thank Thee, O Father, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes." Current literature teems with sophisticated wisdom, with blatant or covert attacks upon Christian tradition, Christian belief and the Christian church. Sometimes it is a fierce diatribe against the faith of plain men and women, or the attack may be veiled in smiling condescension. The intellectual may vaunt himself an infidel, or he may patronizingly adopt an attenuated, abstract, religionized philosophy, but the Christianity of Christ is concrete and vital; therefore the votary of the abstract rejects it.

This reduction of the soul's activities to an abstraction is one of the fundamental characteristics of the intellectual and his fatal error; it even makes its way into some modern churches. True Christianity prevails because it is spiritual life concretely manifested. Multitudes of men and women would die for Christ today, not because He is a philosophic abstraction, but because He is a living personality. Abstract philosophies do not grip the souls of human beings and renew them, do not throb with the vitality which remakes history. Yet with plausible vernacular the modernized sophisticate seeks to persuade the half-educated, the nouveau-cultured and the mentally adrift to adopt the abstract erudition of the exalted clique-ego, instead of the humble teachableness of real Christianity. Therein lies the chief danger of the intellectual to the nation.

In spite of the many flaws in modern civilization the vitality of Christianity still animates it and is the source of all that is best in it. This living spring the intellectual is trying to dry up, and he is succeeding to an alarming extent with those whose untrained minds make them susceptible to catch phrases, to the sophisticated viewpoint.

He misuses science to reinforce his prestige and makes an impression upon the popular mind, which is awed by scientific jargon without being able to discriminate between science and pseudo-science, or without the training to recognize and reject meretricious arguments. But this situation should arouse the Christian to alertness rather than to despair. We recall that intellectual movements of past epochs which were hostile to Christianity had their day and withered, while Christianity grew and deepened its roots.

Among intellectuals the American intellectual is the most unpardonable in his attitude. He is false to the soul of America, that which from the beginning has distinguished America from other nations, and which is the very essence of her spiritual being. The founding of America by our forefathers was a great spiritual experiment, an act of faith, a leap into the unknown. America is still the scene of great experiments. Her characteristic atmosphere is not sophisticated nonchalance,

cynical amusement over moral earnestness, nor caricature of religious personalities. With all her errors and blunders America struggles toward a spiritual goal. She is passionately concerned with the moral phase; she has religious enthusiasm.

AMERICA'S REAL AIM

The standardized intellectual, whether in drama, fiction, verse or science, is quite unaware of, or indifferent to, the fact that America is a spiritual wrestling ground. He lays the turmoil to economic struggle and business competition. He misses the point and purpose of American civilization, that which makes it a much more magnificent epic than was Greek civilization with its fatalism. The American, goaded by past mistakes and failures, determines to be an overcomer, not a fatalistic shirker. With efforts usually painful, frequently awkward, sometimes absurd, he persists frantically, doggedly, gloriously, toward the mark of the high calling. Meanwhile the American intellectual, an alien in his own land, lounges satirically by the wayside, jesting at or denouncing these passionate pilgrims, his countrymen. This is the fatal stupidity of the American intellectual—he misses the real significance of America, and through this perversity becomes a spiritual traitor to his fatherland.

To what extent has the standardized intellectual injected his virus into the life-blood of American colleges? Some American colleges are considerably intellectualized; instructors and students affect the moral irresponsibility of the sophisticates. The fashionable intellectual pose for the time being is a foreign-imported pessimism and skepticism, which opposes with amused superiority or direct antagonism simple religious and political faith. This sophisticated pose is one which appeals strongly to the immature intellect, or to the academic intellect hedged in from all-around living. American colleges are in a transition period, and have lost the confidence of some American parents who desire for their sons and daughters, not readiness in the smart intellectual phrases of the day, but that reverence for religion and home life which the emancipated intellectual considers old-fashioned.

It is hard to say what will be the outcome of the present unrest in American colleges. Fortunately, they are not yet completely standardized by the intellectuals. We venture the prediction that spiritual ambition will win out in our colleges over lackadaisical intellectualism. We even presage a great religious awakening in educational institutions.

The intellectual lacks mental perspective. He rides a good idea to death. Some time ago he overtook the sensible opinion that it is inartistic to tack a conventional happy ending on to every novel or play without regard to the psychological situation. But he could not control this excellent idea. He bestrode the cult of sad endings and it ran away with him.

In fiction the intellectual makes pessimism his standard; accordingly the public has been surfeited for some years with sombre, even sordid novels, in which the fictionized family, with its "in-laws" and outlaws, slides down the catastrophic incline to the fatal *dénouement*. The characters sin and err, not from volition, but impelled by fatality, or they commit peccadillos and crimes as an assertion of individuality against inhibitions. But whether they sin under a compelling fate or through self-expression, they do sin copiously and conspicuously, and at the end they all lie prostrate in the ditch at the bottom of the slippery slope of human frailty. Adultery is the fashionable sin with the modern standardized intellectual-fictionist. His brain seems to be the hothouse where the scarlet flowers thrive most flauntingly in secentary oppress.ve seclusion.

The keenly imitative American intellectual-fictionist has zestfully adopted the continental gloom-motif. He determines to be even more sex-obsessed than his European confrères, and more realistic. He runs over to Europe to inhale the proper atmosphere, and returns with his plump little volume under his arm—his latest novel, in which he ridicules the fatuous American middle class, and in the vernacular of the standardized intellectual implies the superiority of himself and his clique.

The same predilection for pessimism, adultery, rampant self-expression and ma-

terialistic studies of physical sensations characterizes the modern standardized intellectual-dramatist. He insists that his mélange of sordid realism, adultery and disillusionment be presented to the public without restraint or omission. The intellectual, in clamoring for license on the stage, ignores the fact that slavery to commercialism, rather than freedom of opinion, pushes indecency to extreme lengths on the modern stage, and that in opposing decadent drama, one fights not freedom, but commercialism. At the end of the last New York theatre season, which flaunted scarlet drama based on the social standards of the intellectuals, the critic of a leading New York daily wrote, "a dull, soiled, impudent and idiotic season."

Nowadays the intellectuals find diversion in ridiculing and attacking Protestant ministers, evangelists and missionaries through the medium of drama and fiction—a fad of the moment. It has been said by competent observers of their complex that only because of fear do they refrain from attacking the Catholics, a Protestant clergyman being a safer target.

The intellectuals have the inside track, to a considerable extent, in American art-criticism. The solid qualities of style in painting and art-writing are considered old-fashioned by them, adept as they are in the witty vernacular of their clique. Yet one of the prime needs of the average man and woman today is genuine art, and genuine art criticism, free from clique influence.

In the realm of politics the intellectuals are talkers rather than voters. They are too proud to vote, to attend caucuses, to work through organization. The intellectual resorts to neat phrases rather than to inconvenient activities. His political sword is usually a pen, and his plowshare an arm-chair. The high-caste intellectual abhors the political or religious reformer, although he accepts without ado those reforms which contribute to his own necessities and comforts.

Politics and war demand the doer rather than the phrase-maker. They require team-work, not in the sense in which a select coterie aligns its likes and dislikes in luxurious self-expression, but sweating, straining team-work through dirt

and repellent surroundings. Unfortunately the uncouth business of politics is too often left to the ignorant professional politician. But when a man of high ideals and clean hands descends into political turmoil, risking health and reputation, he seldom comes from the ranks of the intelligentsia.

Intellectuals take very little direct part in the making and unmaking of nations or the rulers of nations. Through their periodicals and pronouncements, however, they criticize and condemn those who bear the stress and heat of the battle.

The intellectual inherently dislikes popular conceptions of patriotism and any form of hero-worship except ego-worship. With characteristic bravado he makes mouths at historical personages who occupy commanding pedestals. Greedy for flaws to disillusionize the public, he dissects a Washington, a Lincoln, a Lafayette, a Grant. He is an adept at attacking the faith of the people in its leaders past and present.

As a class-fad, radicalism delights the intellectual; he rails at social conventions, and ridicules the conservative viewpoint. But he seldom exposes himself to the dangers and risks of radical activities. The intellectual would probably be the first to flinch, were he obliged to undergo the practical outcome of many of his ideas.

Our intellectuals deserve pity rather than scolding, because they had not much to lose of spiritual treasure; else they would not have seized so avidly the latest fads in religion, art and statecraft. In their mentality the spirit of sophistication found a chamber empty and prepared for its reception. As a nation fattens on prosperity it offers easy living for the intellectuals, who under more primitive and strenuous economic conditions would be occupied with robust labor and objective realities rather than with purely psychical moods. A similarity of mental bias affiliates the intellectuals of a prosperous nation into an exclusive coterie of theorists with the leisure to satirize the plainer and more useful elements of society.

The standardization and self-satisfaction of this coterie makes it sterile under the vital forces which contribute to the real growth and health of the nation.

II. In Defense of the New School

By FLOYD DELL

American novelist; author of "*The Moon Calf*" and other works

INTELLECTUALS are people who are interested in ideas. Business men and workingmen may be intellectuals, and not infrequently are. But most busy people depend necessarily upon professional writers and speakers to formulate their ideas for them. Among these writers and speakers they choose to listen to the one whose ideas they recognize as in some sense their own; and they take up and use his formulas and phrases, in which they find their own ideas more clearly and powerfully expressed. There are thus two kinds of intellectuals—the few who by opportunity and talent occupy, so to speak, the rostrum; and the many who come to listen. More is said, naturally, of the speakers than of the listeners, in any discussion of intellectual influences; yet the vocal few are dependent upon the approval of the silent many; if they do not happen to utter what these wish to hear, they are left with only the janitor for an audience. And the blame and the praise which is customarily meted out to these vocal ones must be shared by the others; while if we wish to understand the popularity of certain ideas at any given time, it is to historical conditions as affecting large numbers of people that we must turn, rather than to any miraculously benevolent or malevolent influence exerted by this or that intellectual who happens to stand on the rostrum.

Interest in ideas increases with the growth of leisure; and wherever there is sufficient leisure and prosperity, the intellectuals at large support numbers of speakers and writers. This will naturally occur to the greatest extent in large cities, the university centres, capitals and metropolises of the world. Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Byzantium, Cordova, Florence, Paris, London have been as famous for the quality of the intellectual life which they have supported in their prime as for anything else.

America has had two intellectual centres, Boston for a long time, and more

lately New York. The change has been due to historical conditions affecting the whole of American life. During the seventeenth century the cultural life of the American colonies centred in their churches; and during that period, a young intellectual would gravitate naturally into the ministry, as the place where he would have the best opportunity of exercising his talents. One of the intellectual leaders of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was the Rev. Cotton Mather. He expressed most eloquently the popular belief in witchcraft, and is still regarded as responsible for the persecution of witches in his day; but later when he tried to lead the populace in the matter of inoculation for smallpox, his life was in danger from their wrath. It is evidently only when intellectual leaders find the populace somewhat disposed to go in their direction that they have their celebrated influence.

Late in the eighteenth century, the Church ceased to dominate the cultural life of America. The relations of the Colonies to England was a question that had to be settled, and the clergy could not settle it; prosperity had made politics important, and politics was largely a lawyers' game. Ambitious young intellectuals, like James Otis in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia, turned to law as the field in which, as orators, they could hope to distinguish themselves. And Boston, as the cradle of liberty, retained its intellectual dominance in America. It was to retain that dominance until the law should be finally superseded by journalism as the favorite field of young intellectuals, when New York would necessarily take its place.

In the meantime, however, the success of the American Revolution had encouraged a revolution in France of a less respectable character. A young country "on the make" could not afford to sympathize with extreme Parisian styles in ideas. It was to England that American intellectuals turned for sustenance; America had its

share in the universal vogue of Byronic pessimism and despair. But Americans could not successfully maintain, in a pioneer country, that old-world attitude, and accordingly when those two brilliant young intellectuals, Irving and Cooper, commenced their fictional exploration of our history, they met with an immense popular success. A Russian critic, accustomed to assess literature in economic terms, would perhaps say that these writers represented the pride and self-confidence of the young American trading class; and if we look not to the individual emotions of the writers themselves, but to the response of their audience, such a judgment contains much truth.

These writers would then represent the centre of American literature; the left wing, at first represented by now-forgotten imitators of Byron, was presently represented by a group of writers who dared to criticize American institutions—chiefly with slavery in mind. Prosperity was apparently dependent on continual compromise with Southern interests. But a group of New England writers—Lowell, Emerson, Whittier—threatened to “upset the applecart” by their frankness. These became the spokesmen for that increasingly resentful free-labor population of workingmen and farmers who had no interest in maintaining the compromise with slavery. At the same time, the legal profession was kept more or less attractive to young intellectuals by the political importance of the slavery question; and Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner are remembered as libertarian orators, continuing the great tradition which is represented today, if at all, by Clarence Darrow. When the slavery issue was settled by the Civil War, oratory lost its political importance, never again—Bryan’s silver-tongued eloquence not being forgotten—to regain it in our time. The ambitions of young intellectuals were now characteristically directed into some other than the legal field, and more and more into literature by way of journalism.

As early as the late eighteenth century that brilliant young intellectual, Benjamin Franklin, had succeeded in journalism. Early in the nineteenth century, the remarkable successes of Irving and Cooper

had shown that literature itself might be made a paying profession in America; and henceforth it became the aim of young American intellectuals to establish themselves as writers. This goal could be approached circuitously, through the law, as it was by Lowell, through university teaching as by Longfellow, or through the ministry as by Emerson. But journalism (including all kinds of editing and magazine work) provided a more direct approach, and attracted successively such young intellectuals as Hawthorne, Poe, Whitman, Howells, and Mark Twain. Journalism, it appeared, was destined to supplant the legal profession, as the legal profession had supplanted the Church, as the easiest means by which young intellectuals could establish themselves with the public. And with that change, New York succeeded Boston as the centre of American intellectual life.

THE FIRST “MUCK-RAKERS”

The rapid mechanization of America after the Civil War had occupied so much of American energies that this became in many respects an intellectually backward country. But in the late nineteenth century the fruits of that mechanization became paradoxically apparent in a degree of widespread urban middle-class prosperity, comfort and leisure such as enabled people to turn their attention to the political and social injustices of the time. A movement which had begun in agrarian politics as a revolt of the West against the East, of farmers against Wall Street, and which developed into a powerful liberal movement under the leadership of Bryan, Roosevelt and Wilson, began to manifest itself in a new kind of critical literature. It began first in the magazines, with such writers as Ida M. Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker and Lincoln Steffens. It was reflected in fiction by W. D. Howells, Robert Herrick, Frank Norris, Upton Sinclair, Jack London, David Graham Phillips. The new (“muck-raking”) magazine literature was concerned with discovering and telling the truth about America; but it was feared by the timid business classes (as these had formerly feared the frankness of the New England group during the slavery compromise) because this maga-

zine literature revealed much that was ugly and unjust in business and politics; and early in the nineteenth century the muck-raking magazines died a sudden and violent death at the hands of the business interests. The new and vigorous fictional movement, deprived of this magazine support, almost died out (until it was revived shortly after the war with "Main Street"). There was a determined effort on the part of the business classes to force an unquestioning and uncritical optimism upon the American people. Such opportunist intellectuals as Elbert Hubbard readily changed their tune, and a new school of subsidized "boosters" and "cheerleaders" occupied the public rostrum. It may be doubted if these ever represented a response to a genuine public taste, or that they had any effects except the vast boredom now reflected in satirical American fiction and drama.

At the same time, though critical thought concerning American politics and industry was severely discouraged, the new intellectual curiosity which our middle-class urban leisure had brought with it did not fail to find expression in other directions. The children of the men who had exploited the natural resources of America began to wish to know something about beauty and ideas. Both were imported from Europe, and critics like James Huneker explained them. An intellectual appetite was created which became widespread. Shaw began slowly to have his enormous American vogue. And American criticism began to be more and more in demand, until it recently became a paying profession for young intellectuals.

THE NEW CRITICISM

At the root of these new intellectual curiosities was the realistic perception that the morals and ideas which we had inherited from our Puritan forefathers were not quite applicable to the new industrial, urban, mechanized America. People's actual lives were out of tune with their formal beliefs, and they were groping for ideas which would put them into harmonious relation with this new environment. "Save the pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves" would no longer suffice as a commandment for peo-

ple whose trouble was now to get, if possible, a full life in return for their dollars. "Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise" did not apply to an urban world in which the most interesting things did not begin to happen until after 9 o'clock in the evening. People were willing to entertain hospitably a variety of new ideas about life, and see how they worked. They wanted to make the most of life, and they turned to the intellectuals as experts who could guide them to the right books, plays and ideas (and thus, indirectly, to the most interesting love affairs).

These new guides were selected without any regard for former standards of what constituted a trustworthy cicerone. Age, experience, university degrees were no longer recommendations. Familiarity with new ideas and ease in expressing them was what counted. Thus it is that the newspaper reporters of yesteryear have risen so rapidly to positions of trust as guides to American intellectuals at large. Their influence is sometimes deplored by staid people as "poisonous." The truth is, of course, that they have no power to impose their taste upon the public. If they are listened to, it is because they are saying things that large numbers of people wish to hear.

There remains to be considered what are the things that people now wish to hear—and why. And here the intellectual interregnum of the war period has exerted a temporarily decisive influence. So much nonsense, and so many lies, were promulgated during that hysterical period in the guise of patriotic idealism, and rammed so ruthlessly into people's minds, that there has been a violent reaction in the direction of a protective cynicism. A younger generation that dutifully believed all it was told during the war, only to discover that it had been fooled, is naturally suspicious of ideals and idealists, and declines to "believe" anything whatever.

LATTER-DAY DISILLUSIONMENT

While as for the older generation of forward-looking people, the war completed a process of disillusionment which had already begun in the field of political reform. It is characteristic that a Western

reformer, Fremont Older of California, should relate in his memoirs how he spent some of the best years of his life putting a grafter into prison, only to doubt the wisdom and justice of that mode of reform and spend more years getting the victim of his well-meant efforts out of prison again. And the confessions of such other notable American reformers of the pre-war period as Frederic C. Howe and William Allen White are similar records of failure and disillusionment in the effort to reform mankind by political methods. Not only reform ideas, but various more revolutionary ideas of a political nature received such damage from the revelations of human nature afforded by the war (and the subsequent peace) that it is no wonder there should ensue a period of discouragement in which the evils of the world appear too ingrained in the human heart for anything to be hoped from political efforts. And just as the literature of the "muck-raking" period reflected the magnificent confidence engendered by that great political effort—a confidence in the capacity of mankind to control its environment and remold the world nearer to the heart's desire—the newer literature reflects the more recent disillusionment, amounting in extreme examples to a kind of polite despair. Our most cherished modern fictionists are those who not only assert that the world is out of joint but positively decline to believe that they or anybody else were born to set it right.

THE NEW WRITERS—DREISER'S REALISM

In the field of imaginative literature, the new reputations that have emerged since the war have been significant of the same psychological reactions. Two writers, of a markedly different sort, Theodore Dreiser and James Branch Cabell, formerly neglected or disliked on account of their "pessimism," have been abruptly raised by the critics to the front rank of American novelists. The most brilliant of the younger careers, those of Eugene O'Neill, Sherwood Anderson and Sinclair Lewis, illustrate the same sudden change of feeling in America.

Not to assess these writers as artists, but only to point out what ideas they represent, it might be said that Dreiser's realism be-

longs intellectually to the critical years in the last century when Darwinism had just overthrown in people's minds the idea that there was a wise and benevolent Deity looking after the affairs of the universe. During the period of early twentieth century self-confidence, this Dreiserian fiction, full of a gloomy and tender compassion for the poor wretches who are doomed to live in an accidental world, amid the *schrecklichkeit* of natural forces, doubtless seemed strained and absurd. It took merely the events of the war to put us back into that nineteenth-century frame of mind. We are, it appears, sufficiently sorry for ourselves, and sufficiently anxious to believe that we are not really to blame for our follies and blunders, that we are ready to take "What! did the Hand, then, of the Potter shake?" and other comforting nineteenth-century defenses of our poor human nature, expressed at tedious length in prose, as great new contributions to the sum of human wisdom!

CABELL, ANDERSON, LEWIS

Cabell's pessimism is of a prettier and wittier and more deliberately decorative sort, harking back to the 'nineties and in particular to the more "diabolist" efforts of the Yellow Book. We should never have taken these tinsel cynicisms seriously except for the war. That moved the clock back for us, psychologically, a quarter of a century.

Sherwood Anderson, after a notable beginning as a realist, has apparently been overwhelmed by a mystical tendency, under the influence of which he revenges himself upon the hated outside world by telling grotesque fibs about human nature. He has, at least, made his intellectual position clear, as one who despises the Machine Age and is homesick for the lost hand-craft period.

All these backward-looking attitudes might be defended as healthy emotional reactions to the uncritical adulation in our popular magazines of this as the time par excellence in which to make and spend money. However, it is true that they do not exhibit any very bracing qualities of intellect. It is easy enough to sigh and look back; it takes more intellectual courage than is readily available to look for-

ward and try to understand the future into which the present merges day by day.

However, the outstanding success of the period has been that of Sinclair Lewis's satires on American life; and these appear to mark the re-establishment of the old "muck-raking" movement on a basis of solid public approval—though, it is to be noted, with no emphasis for the present on economic or political reconstruction! (We are told by Cabell in "Straws and Prayer Books" that he persuaded Lewis to kill off the character in "Main Street" by which the author's own constructive ideas were to have been expressed!) "Main Street" and its successors may thus perhaps be taken to represent the beginnings of a new advance which may ultimately reoccupy the ground from which American fiction was whipped off by the business interests back in 1908-18. Such bold achievements as "Capitol Hill" by Harvey Fergusson, and "Weeds" by Edith Summers Kelly, of this school, are full of promise for its future.

With the current disillusionment in the political realm, there is, however, a revival of nineteenth-century confidence in science. This is based not only upon the magnificent achievements of pure and applied science in the physical field, but on the promise held out by new psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic discoveries of the possibility of exerting by education a decisive control over the more self-destructive vagaries of our human nature itself. H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* marked the beginning of a vast and increasing popular interest in *knowledge* as the means of human liberation; and this is illustrated every few days by the popular success of some new book in which the achievements of the human mind are celebrated. And though this bold and hopeful attitude toward life has not yet been reflected in current fiction to any great extent (except indirectly but significantly in the surprising novels of Professor Erskine), it is a superficial view which finds this period a merely cynical or pessimistic one.

"MENCKENISM"

The sudden rise to popularity of H. L. Mencken is to be explained by this historical situation, in which the post-war reac-

tion of American youth is the most obvious fact. Mencken is trusted by American youth because he did not "fall for" the bosh of the war period. Moreover, often in an exaggerated and silly form, he expresses the current disillusionment with political methods of reforming human nature (an attitude which is to be found in its smuggest popular form in the anti-Prohibition sentimentality). And finally, he believes in science, though not professedly as a means of achieving any ultimate happy destiny for mankind; rather, in a beerily tragic mood, as a means of revealing to mankind its irrelevance and futility in the cosmic scheme. During a period of comparative stagnation after the failure of Politics as a weapon with which to enforce the Good Life upon mankind, he repeats on a smaller and more monotonous prose scale the service performed by Byron after the Napoleonic wars, in giving us the medicinal literary tonic of an exuberant and hearty cynicism.

To continue further would be to go into the realm of prophecy, since Menckanism is the latest stage of American intellectuality. There are, however, signs of a change. Implicit in Menckanism is a paradoxical quietism, an acceptance of things as they are on the tame and easy terms of being permitted to go on thumbing the nose at them. The intellectual energies of the still younger generation, it does not seem rash to predict, will scarcely be content with so meager an intellectual rôle. And it may be remarked that the task of discovering successful modes of adaptation in the realms of conduct and ideals to the new necessities and opportunities of the Machine Age has only begun. It may be that Judge Ben Lindsey, as the first patient and sincere and informed interpreter of the tragi-comic experiments of youth in the changing fields of love and domestic relations, will be remembered as the most significant American intellectual of our day. In another direction, it may be suggested that journalism is by no means likely to be the last birth of time. What will succeed journalism as the favorite field of the American intellectual? Tomorrow holds that secret safe; but, for all we know, it may yet be the despised profession of school teaching!

The New South America

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

Writer and Lecturer on South America

SOUTH AMERICA, in the general conception, is supposed to be a continent composed of lofty mountains, impenetrable jungle and "broad open spaces"; with a climate, except in the extreme South, all but suffocatingly hot; with disease germs and deathly pestilence lurking in every river, stream and bush; and with a population comprising, in the more remote sections, tribes of wild Indians, and along the seaboard languid and lazy Spanish and Portuguese who divide their time between spasmodic revolutions and sentimental love affairs.

The tropical jungle is still to be found, hundreds of thousands of square miles of it, and "the open spaces" are more than broad; they seem limitless. There are wild Indians in the Andes and in the Amazonian fastnesses. The languid and lazy are legion. In fact, the observer can find just about what he looks for in the way of primitiveness and backwardness. But the same may be said of any other land, not excepting the United States. There are thousands of people in our own Southern mountains who can neither read nor write, many of whom in the days of airplanes have never seen a railway train. In the slums of our large cities there is backwardness that grieves the soul. Yet no intelligent person judges the United States entirely in the light of these conditions. Nor does the impartial observer base his estimations of South America wholly upon the undesirable features of social life and the primitive conditions he may find. He also seeks the evidences of progress on every hand, and even looks beyond at possibilities.

South America is a treasure house of potentialities. The bounty of its natural wealth is inestimable. Its resources are not only vast but varied. Westward are the Andes, rich in deposits of ores and metals. In the days of the Incas, and even after the arrival of Francisco Pizarro and his cavaliers, gold, silver and precious jewels

were gathered from the beds of rivers and streams much as one might gather nuggets and pebbles of stone, and the supply was by no means exhausted. Along the Amazon and north of the Equator are some of the world's most valuable forests, containing hardwoods of almost every known species and in unlimited quantities. Roy Nash in his "The Conquest of Brazil" quotes Dr. Whitford of the Yale Forest School as estimating that there are some 8,000 species of hardwood trees in the Amazon Valley. Untold wealth in mineral and chemical resources exists in the North and West. Eastward lie broad plains and plateaus whose soils are as fertile as any in the world. There is probably no useful plant that will not thrive, no food that cannot be produced, somewhere in South America. From the standpoint of nature's endowments, one is tempted to call it the wonder continent of the world. And a brief survey of recent developments and current activity serves to emphasize the fact that the principal South American republics are already assuming enviable positions among the newer countries of the West. The old order is rapidly passing! A new South America exists!

Agriculture, stock-raising, lumbering and mining will long remain the chief interests of South America. There is little likelihood of an early manufacturing expansion. To some extent this will be due to a scarcity of fuel. Strange as it may seem, in view of South America's other resources, comparatively little coal of superior quality has been made available thus far, and at present coal is a main-spring, an essential, of manufacturing. I was surprised to find most of the Eastern railroads importing coal from England and Wales, while some of the Pacific coast roads, I learned, procure their fuel from Australia. But the requirements of the balance of the world make it more profitable to produce food and raw materials for export. This, at least, represents the

views of a great number of the wisest business minds of South America.

It is a well-known fact that Europe and the United States long ago reached the maximum in the production of food and raw materials. They must, therefore, look more and more to the newer areas for the things with which to sustain their ever-growing populations.

The part that South America already plays in the economic life of this country is not generally appreciated. We now import great quantities of food products from there—beef, mutton, game, cacao, coffee, sugar and fruit. Likewise we go to South America for increasing amounts of raw materials. Dr. E. M. East, in his book, "Mankind at the Cross Roads," says that the United States reached the peak of production in raw materials when its population was only 98,000,000. There is ample proof of this statement in our imports from the Southern republics.

We get much of our wool from Argentina, Peru and Brazil; dyewood from Paraguay and Colombia; hardwood from Brazil and Peru; copper and nitrates from Chile, and tin from Bolivia. A great portion of the copper industry is in the hands of North Americans, while 80 per cent. of the tin industry of Bolivia is controlled by United States interests. Furthermore, our manufacturers of cotton goods look with interest upon the increase in the already substantial cotton acreage in Brazil, Peru and Argentina. Experts from the United States are employed by the Argentine Department of Agriculture to assist in the development of the cotton industry in that country.

GROWING TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES

The Department of Commerce at Washington recently issued a statement to the effect that one of the most significant things in connection with American trade during the past decade was the growing amount of imports from the tropics. As evidence of this statement the following facts may be cited: During the fiscal year of 1925-26 our imports from the South American republics amounted to \$555,964,996, while our exports totaled \$420,176,101.* From Brazil our imports amounted

to \$244,874,242 and our exports to only \$23,444,143; our imports from Chile were \$64,173,948 and our exports \$46,405,821. Argentina furnishes a happy exception in the matter of exports from the United States; in the fiscal year 1925-26 we sent to that country \$147,268,301 worth of goods, while we received from her only \$85,958,456 worth.

Colombia and Venezuela, the two northernmost republics of South America, loom large on the horizon because of their petroleum deposits. Although Colombia ranks third among the South American countries in the matter of population, it has hitherto ranked low in progressiveness. But today there is a new spirit of enterprise. Lumbering, agriculture and stock-raising are taking on more impetus. Coffee and rubber are being exported. In this country are the largest emerald mines in the world. Our exports to Colombia during the last fiscal year amounted to \$47,120,035; our imports were \$63,800,494. Venezuela, whose interests are very similar to those of the neighboring republic of Colombia, had, until the recent oil boom, made little material advancement since the days of Simon Bolívar, its most distinguished son. Now it is a household word wherever petroleum is known, and that, in this automotive age, means throughout the civilized world. Geologists say that Maracaibo bids fair to become the metropolis of the world's greatest oil field. The 1925 yield amounted to 20,912,600 barrels, while the yield for 1926 has been estimated at 35,000,000 barrels. [Total imports to Venezuela, 1926, \$22,189,410; exports, \$31,404,357.]

Ecuador and Peru comprise the heart of the most historic section of South America, the land of the Inca and the early cavalier. It was here that the Spanish made their first important settlements. They laid waste one of the oldest, and in many respects one of the most splendid, civilizations of the Western World, but until recent years few of their descendants showed signs of even equaling, much less surpassing, the ingenuity and enterprise of those earlier "children of the sun." Probably the most attractive industry of Ecuador, which country lies astride the Equator, is the manufacture and exportation of Pan-

*World Almanac.

ama hats, although the chief export product is cacao, from which chocolate is made. Dr. Edwin Kemmerer, who, as this is written, is engaged in reorganizing the finances of Ecuador, says that the cocoa industry has been seriously damaged by a pest, known as the "witch broom," thus affecting the general prosperity. He reports, however, that a movement to diversify the country's products has been organized. [Total imports to Ecuador, 1926, \$9,154,054; exports, \$6,508,612.]

Wool producing is a major industry in Peru. It produces 95 per cent. of the world's supply of vanadium, and ranks third in the production of silver. In recent years the Peruvian Government has encouraged investments by foreign enterprise. At present the United States has numerous interests in the country. Not only have our people invested heavily in Peru, but experts and advisory commissions from the United States have assisted the Government in putting the country on a thorough business basis. An American naval mission is directing the training of the navy. Probably no country in South America extends a heartier welcome to investors and business interests from the United States. [Exports to Peru, 1926, totaled \$26,492,216; imports, \$23,852,656.]

INLAND COMMUNICATIONS

The two inland republics, Bolivia and Paraguay, while rich in resources, have traveled but a short way on the road to modern progress. Bolivia has been somewhat handicapped, however, because of her lack of natural outlet to the sea. Her closest seaport is Arica, Chile, which is reached by rail across the mountains. There are railway outlets from La Paz, the largest city of Bolivia, to Antofagasta, Chile, and to Mollendo, Peru. All these railways lead through alien territory. There is now a railway connection from La Paz to Buenos Aires, Argentina, but the distance by this route to the eastern seaboard is very great. Paraguay is more favored. It is from three to five days by river steamer from Asuncion, the capital, to Buenos Aires, and thence to the Atlantic. Chief among Paraguay's exports is quebracho wood, from which are extracted dyes used in the tanning of leather, im-

portant in the manufacture of shoes. [Total exports, 1926, \$836,034; imports, \$382,207.]

Chile may be said to be the outstanding country of the west coast of South America. Its interests are many. In the northern provinces is produced 95 per cent. of the world's mined supply of nitrate of soda. In the year 1925, for which the latest figures are available, the export tax on this product alone amounted to \$28,375,100. Further south is the copper-mining section. Chile is the second greatest copper-producing country in the world, and it is unique among the South American republics in that both iron and coal are mined within its borders. Agriculture, while extensive, is, nevertheless, a secondary interest. In the great central valley, of which the national capital, Santiago, is the metropolis, wheat, corn and barley in limited quantities are grown for export. [Total exports to Chile from United States, 1926, \$46,405,821; imports, \$84,173,948.]

Eastern South America is almost wholly agricultural and pastoral. Something of the extent and the promise of agriculture along the eastern seaboard may be gathered from the following facts: Brazil produces three-fourths of the world's coffee, and ranks second only to the United States in the production of corn. In the year 1925 she exported cotton to the value of \$14,974,019, over and above her own domestic consumption. Argentina's wheat production has assumed such proportions as to make her a serious competitor of the other great wheat-growing countries, particularly the United States. One familiar with land values and labor conditions in the two countries can readily understand this. Some time ago Dr. Thomas Le Breton, former Minister of Agriculture of Argentina, and before that Ambassador to the United States, stated the case very succinctly. "You cannot compete now," he said, "and for several reasons. Here, land is cheap; in the United States land is high. Here, labor is cheap; in your country labor is high. Our wheat fields are near the seacoast, while in the United States the wheat fields are, for the most part, a long way from the seacoast, and freight rates are high. We can deliver our wheat in the markets of Europe quite as cheaply as can

the United States. Moreover, you cannot compete in quality, if you please." With the last statement authorities might disagree, but the others seem indisputable.

TREND AGAINST LARGE ESTATES

One of the most significant things affecting agriculture in the South American republics is the growing feeling, especially in the East, against the concentration of great tracts of land in the hands of a few people. Costa Ferreira & Co. of Para, Brazil, are reputed to have an Amazon estate larger than England, Scotland and Ireland put together. So far this condition seems to have met with little objection in the western republics. Even Chile has accepted it with composure. The enormous *fazendas*, or plantations, in Brazil, in some instances amount to feudal estates. This does not apply, however, to all sections of the country, and less so in the southern section than elsewhere. In late years Uruguay has made marked advancement along these lines, and Argentina has launched a campaign to do away with the great *estancias*. The present Administration, under President Alvear, has pressed the National Congress for legislation to authorize the Government to induce owners of vast properties to subdivide at least 50 per cent. of them and sell them off to the people, or, in case the owners refuse, itself to requisition such properties and parcel them out in small tracts, especially to immigrants, paying the owners whatever is deemed equitable. It was interesting to find some of the largest land holders in favor of such a proposition. One of them, speaking of the proposed law, said "such a policy would attract more immigrants of the best type, build up a better citizenship and make the country more prosperous and stable. As the population increases, and more money comes into the country, it becomes less attractive to maintain large estates. The smaller estates are less expensive, more remunerative and more satisfactory in every way."

In Eastern South America, next to agriculture, comes stock raising. The most recent live stock census (1922) showed that there were 37,064,858 head of cattle and 30,671,841 sheep in Argentina. The latest figures available for the year 1920, showed

there were 34,271,324 head of cattle in Brazil. Argentina alone has almost as many sheep as the United States, according to the latest statistics, which give this country only 38,361,000, while Argentina and Brazil surpass it in the number of cattle. The most recent figures give the United States only 66,801,000 head.

The meat packing industry of Argentina is enormous in extent. In 1925 over 669,100 tons of frozen and chilled beef were exported and more than 91,000 tons of mutton and lamb. In the cities of Buenos Aires and La Plata (La Plata is the capital of the province of Buenos Aires) there are several large packing and refrigerating plants owned by Swift, Armour and other concerns of the United States. On a visit to one of these plants, where 2,500 cattle and 3,000 sheep were slaughtered each day, I learned that most of the output was for export and a great deal of it destined for the United States. At the present time the United States takes practically all the manufacturing products of the animal industry of Argentina.

There are those who look upon the tropical countries as impossible places for great material progress. They are accustomed to believe that the white man, particularly, cannot live permanently in the tropics and maintain a vigor and an enthusiasm sufficient to count seriously in the world of economic advancement. This is no longer true. The reasons are contained in the words of Dr. Frank R. Leslie of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine: "As a result of advances in medicine, sanitation and hygiene in the last twenty-five years, it is being proved today that white men can continue healthy and efficient in the tropics. By this very increase in knowledge Northern races have conquered the tropics for the benefit of all mankind." For eloquent proof of this statement we have but to recall the work of science in Ecuador, at Panama, in the West Indies and other tropical areas.

POPULATION ELEMENTS

The population of most of the Western countries is still Spanish in origin and native Indian. In Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia more than 50 per cent. of the people are

full-blooded Indians, from 25 to 40 per cent. *mestizos*, or mixed, and the balance Spanish. The population of Colombia and Venezuela is largely Spanish in origin and half-castes. The inhabitants of Chile are almost wholly European in origin. Probably the purest Spanish blood in all South America is to be found here. There are great numbers of Germans in Chile, and they have long held valuable properties in the southern part of the country. Anglo-Saxons have played an important part in the history of Chile. Among the heroes of revolutionary days were the O'Higginses—Bernardo and Admiral Don Ambrosio—and Lord Cochrane, all prominent leaders. One of her outstanding citizens and statesmen of the present day was British born—Dr. Augustin Edwards. He is the owner of *El Mercurio*, the most influential newspaper, and a former President of the Assembly of The League of Nations.

IMMIGRATION TIDE TO EAST

The Eastern countries are growing quite cosmopolitan. Not only has the Latin settled here; the German element is very formidable, to say nothing of the Scandinavians, British and North Americans, all of whom are to be found in growing numbers. Almost the entire wheat and grain section of Brazil (the States of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina and Parana) is in the hands of Germans. The State of Sao Paulo, the great coffee State, has large groups of Germans, and the late "king" of the coffee industry was a former immigrant from Hamburg—Francisco Schmidt. This same State has also some 40,000 Japanese. Uruguay's population is mixed. Argentina, like the United States, is the home of "the world and his wife." In recent years Germans have comprised large contingents among European immigrants. Northern Italians, many of whom are tall and blond, unmistakable evidences of Northern blood, have held first place as to numbers.

It is a fact that the tide of emigration from the Old World has shifted to South America because of the limitation law now in effect in the United States. Every European ship bound for an eastern South American port today carries a full quota

of emigrants. At Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Montevideo and Buenos Aires I witnessed the arrival of many hundreds of families from Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia and the other countries beyond the Atlantic.

Argentine immigration is worthy of special mention. A very strict law is in force in this, the most highly developed and second largest country in South America. Each prospective settler must present a certificate of good character and ability to work, and then must submit to a very rigid examination at the port of entry. But once admitted, immigrants receive every help and encouragement from the Government in locating work and opportunity. They are not turned loose in the country, strangers to shift for themselves. Consequently there is no crowding at the city of entry, and idleness in the country as a whole is negligible.

Public education in the South American republics is not making the same strides as material progress. Little or no attempt has been made to provide schooling for the great Indian population of the Western republics and Brazil. Peru has made some effort along this line in recent years. In the other countries only the upper classes in the cities are provided for. In fact, educational conditions, generally speaking, in the West and the North are deplorable. Yet it is of more than passing interest that the oldest university in the Western Hemisphere, save possibly one in Mexico City, is at Lima, Peru, founded by Charles V in the year 1551. There is another very old university at Bogotá, Colombia, founded in 1572.

Argentina easily ranks first in her provisions for education. Among her earlier outstanding educators was Domingo Sarmiento (also at one time Minister to the United States, and later President of his country). It was largely through his influence that a system of public schools was established throughout the country, attendance upon which is compulsory for all between the ages of 6 and 14. Several of the other republics have compulsory attendance laws, but they do not seem to mean much. Such a provision is more successful in Argentina, which country has numerous schools of agriculture, animal industry and forestry in the different prov-

inces, as well as trade and normal schools in the cities. The University of Buenos Aires has an enrollment of upward of 12,000 students, and its various colleges—medicine, law and finance—rank with the best in Europe or North America.

PRESIDENTIAL DICTATORS

A great deal is said about political inadequacy in the South American republics, and in certain of them a great deal is to be desired. "There are so many revolutions" is a remark frequently heard. It is well to emphasize the fact that this big word "revolution" is applied to many a minor uprising and coup d'état, and despotism is not always so despotic. In Venezuela the rule of Gomez is assailed by many as being particularly odious. Yet only a Gomez would be likely to keep a semblance of order in the country, considering its illiterate population. And in view of the backward state of the mass of the people in Colombia, Bolivia and Ecuador, little stability, except under a strong hand, is to be expected. Government cannot be very free and without faults where ignorance and illiteracy hold sway.

President Augusto B. Leguia of Peru rules with an iron hand, yet he maintains order. He has instituted numerous reforms, commanded the cleaning up of the principal cities and the maintenance of sanitary conditions. He has made great headway in road building and developing the resources of the country. Most of those who have observed his Administration have only the highest praise for him, and some of those who condemn his Government might well consider what else in the way of a Government would be possible in a country whose population is 50 per cent. native Indian, 40 per cent. mestizos and less than 10 per cent. Spanish or white.

Brazil is the youngest of the South

American republics, the monarchy having been overthrown only thirty-seven years ago. Most of her people are not yet capable of self-government, especially the great colored portion of the population, to say nothing of the uncounted wild Indians in the Amazon wilderness. Under such circumstances corrupt politicians thrive and make mischief, and unrest is inevitable. It will require time to overcome these conditions. Meantime business goes on with little difficulty.

The Government of Argentina is as stable and as strong as that of any country in the world. The officials are able and experienced. The present Chief Executive, President de Alvear, was a former Ambassador to France, while several of his Cabinet members have served their country in the leading capitals of the world. They are men versed in international affairs as well as home responsibilities. The Government of Uruguay has enjoyed an undisturbed tenure for fifty years. Uruguayan exchange is high, a splendid evidence of stability. In reality there is no more serious political difficulty and inadequacy in the principal South American countries than in many of the leading countries of Europe, if we consider the dictators and generalissimos who hold sway in the latter.

[EDITOR'S NOTE—The Commerce of the United States with Latin-American countries has rapidly increased, as the following figures show:

Year.	Total Imports From Latin America.	Total Exports to Latin America.
1900.....	\$167,180,295	\$110,674,490
1910.....	392,955,257	242,123,502
1914.....	469,082,667	282,070,153
1920.....	1,774,000,443	1,163,476,626
1924.....	987,043,374	683,091,973
1925.....	1,020,886,898	814,139,957
1926.....	1,012,937,962	847,155,697

Our total Latin-American trade (exports and imports) was \$277,854,785 in 1900, \$751,152,822 in 1914, \$1,860,093,659 in 1926.]



Safety in Aviation Improving

By JOHN GOLDSTROM

Writer on Aeronautics

THE tragic death in Argentina on Feb. 26 of the American aviators, Captain Clinton F. Woolsey and Lieutenant John E. Benson, as the result of a collision between their airplane and a companion plane of the Pan-American flight squadron, over the Palomar Flying Field, brings up anew the whole question of what may be called "safety in the air," and makes it desirable to sum up for record in the chronicles of aviation the progress achieved in developing such safety. Comparison is the best guide. What is the record in other countries, in Germany, for instance, where the art of flying, notably commercial flying, has been highly developed, and in Great Britain and France?

Future historians who may specialize in decades are likely to find it worth noting that, before the end of the decade following the World War, travelers between Berlin and Moscow were advised that it was safer and more convenient to fly than to go by rail. The chances that a passenger in a German transport plane will fly safely to his destination are 99.997 per cent., according to statistics recently made public by Lufthansa, the airways trust whose lines traverse Europe and are being extended across Siberia to the Orient. To emphasize its claim that it is a dependable common carrier, Lufthansa makes every passenger ticket automatically a life insurance policy for \$6,000. This company also insures its flying personnel.

The only years for which official comparative statistics of German civil aviation are available are 1924 and 1925, according to the Washington office of Porter Adams, President of the National Aeronautic Association. These statistics show that 55,185 passengers were carried and 3,073,171 miles flown; there were two fatalities, or one for approximately each million and a half miles. In the preceding year 13,422 passengers were flown a total of 983,349 miles; there was one fatality. During five

months of 1926 German planes flew 2,500,000 miles and carried 56,000 passengers without a fatality.

No comparative statistics are available for the early years of German civil aviation after the armistice and before Aero Lloyd, Deruluft and Junkers were combined to form Lufthansa; but it is known that the German accident rate never has been heavy. It was stated on Nov. 1, 1926, that the Red Cross first-aid station at the great headquarters airdrome on Tempelhofer Feld had never been called into action.

The historian may well marvel with Sir Robert Donald, the London publisher, at the rapid and extensive progress of German commercial navigation, handicapped though Germany was thought to be by the Versailles Treaty. Sir Donald declares that: "Germany today is unrivaled master of the air in commercial flying."

The British Imperial Airways have also had a remarkable safety record, having in twenty-one months, ended Oct. 1, 1926, flown more than 2,000,000 miles and carried 25,000 passengers without fatal accident. During that period, however, the British planes transported only one-ninth as many passengers as the Germans and flew one-fifth as many miles. In 1921 and 1922 the British flew 1,037,000 miles and carried a total of 17,152 passengers without a fatality. In 1923 there were three lives lost; 1,004,000 miles were flown and 13,478 passengers carried. The year 1924 was the worst in the British record; seven passengers were killed in a twelvemonth in which 13,478 passengers were flown a total of 890,000 miles.

Disaster hovered over the 1926 Summer flying season for the Imperial Airways, but was averted by the cool courage of Pilot Fred Dinsmore. When his big Handley-Page was forced into the English Channel by engine trouble, he so disposed his eleven passengers on the upper wings and

fuselage that the heavy land machine was kept afloat until tugs came to the rescue, twenty minutes after the accident.

There have not as yet been made public any French official figures for 1926, but it has been an unfortunate year. Two crashes of large passenger planes on the Paris-London line resulted, according to newspaper reports, in the deaths of eleven persons. In 1925, when French planes carried 19,668 passengers 2,926,802 miles, five were killed. The worst previous year was 1922, when there were thirteen fatalities over a period when 9,502 passengers were flown a total of 1,738,800 miles. In 1920 nine lives were lost; 1,771 passengers were carried an aggregate of 527,850 miles.

AIR MAIL FATALITIES REDUCED

The only American civil flying activity for which there are comparative statistics is the Air Mail Service. It carries no passengers, but in some respects is the most remarkable of all the achievements in civil aviation the world over. Pilots fly day and night over mountain, desert and plain in all kinds of weather. Mail is flown overnight between New York and Chicago and on a day-and-a-half schedule between New York and San Francisco, a transcontinental run of 2,669 miles. The figures given here are for fiscal years ended June 30:

Year.	Fatalities.	Miles Flown.	Miles per Fatality.
1919.....	3	194,986	64,995
1920.....	9	648,400	72,044
1921.....	17	1,770,658	104,156
1922.....	1	1,727,265	1,727,265
1923.....	4	1,809,028	452,257
1924.....	4	1,853,251	463,312
1925.....	2	2,501,555	1,250,777
1926.....	2	2,256,000	1,128,000

The foregoing table shows a total of forty-two fatalities for 12,761,143 miles, or a general average of 303,836.78 miles per fatality. It is seen that 1921 with seventeen deaths, was by far the most disastrous year. The following year only one life was lost, with 1,727,265 miles flown. For the great contrast between 1921 and 1922 there was a definite reason, in connection with which I had an opportunity for personal observation. As a special agent of the Postoffice Department (for the duration of the flight), I

flew with the first through shipment of transcontinental air mail from New York to San Francisco. There was to be no special attempt for speed, and I was given the best available pilot on each division and an opportunity to study the service from the inside, in order to report conditions for a newspaper syndicate. The trip, which lasted fourteen days, ended at San Francisco on Jan. 10, 1921. We had six forced landings, including one in a blizzard in the Wyoming Rockies and another on the Nevada desert between Elko and Reno. In the latter case, motor trouble forced Pilot Monte Mouton down in a terrific dust storm. We walked about twenty-five miles from the disabled ship to the Hudgins Ranch, and were picked up next day by flyers sent out to search for us.

I found most of the Western pilots in a state of open rebellion against division superintendents who were sending them up in Winter storms with defective planes. Some of these executives had no practical flying experience. There was an investigation, followed by a reorganization, and the following year the number of fatalities was reduced from seventeen to only one.

Safety in the air is mainly a matter of proper ground organization and the maintenance of airworthy flying equipment. This was realized from the start on the European airways. The Germans have led in this respect.

The question of safety in flying—admittedly it is still a question in a large section of the American public mind—is especially interesting now that the Postoffice Department has let contracts for routes feeding the transcontinental trunk line and is preparing to relinquish the latter to private operation. Some of the contractors transport passengers as well as mail and express matter.

Public confidence in aerial transportation is increasing in Europe, despite the occasional accident. Business men, particularly in Germany, use it to get about more rapidly, and they do not hesitate to entrust valuable mail and freight to the planes. Large trimotor planes are replacing obsolescent single-motor types on French, British and German lines.

Even military flying has become safer. In addition to better airplane and motor design the improved parachute, which all service pilots now carry, is an important factor. And recently a naval mechanic let down the plane itself with a fifty-foot parachute of his own design.

Consider what would happen if two automobiles, each making a hundred miles an hour, collided on a roadway. Two airplanes flying at that speed crashed together above the clouds a mile above Kelly Field, in Texas—and the two pilots, bearing only a few bruises, laughed about it in the Officers' Club that evening. Parachutes had been their salvation. Against this must be balanced the recent tragedy in South America.

Flying a fast pursuit plane in clouds above Langley Field, in Virginia, Lieutenant Rogers of the Marines was about to consult his wrist watch when he saw that his safety belt was unfastened. In trying to fasten it he lost hold of the control stick. The plane promptly executed an abrupt nose dive. Rogers was catapulted from his cockpit and found himself in space, clear of the plane, now of no further use to him.

As calmly as possible under the circumstances, Rogers pulled the rip cord of his parachute and drifted gently to earth. He was unhurt. His plane continued its dive and finally crashed.

The things that can happen to an airplane and let its passengers down with little more than the memory of a lively experience are truly amazing. Major Faccenda of the Italian Air Service was flying from Turin to Milan, and was 3,000 feet above Milan when his plane began to come apart. The engine fell into the courtyard of a house in the Viale Abruzzi, the landing gear and tank in Via Stradella. The remainder of the machine landed on one of the buildings of the Bianchi automobile works. Major Faccenda and his mechanic suffered only slight cuts about the head.

Although I had my first flight more than sixteen years ago, most of my flying has been done in the last six years, during which my work as an aeronautical writer has taken me into eighteen countries, in thirteen of which I have had occasion to fly more than 40,000 miles as a passenger.

Purely as a means of transportation I prefer the airplane to any other vehicle, especially over long distances. Its speed value—three to four times faster than the railroad train—is obvious, and it is even freer from the grime of travel than an ocean liner. In rough weather, true enough, it has some of the uncomfortable characteristics of a sea-going vessel, but not for so long a period.

I have had more than a fair share of rough-weather flying, including the air mail flight from New York to San Francisco. The nearest I came to death or serious injury on that occasion was when a taxicab grazed me in Market Street less than an hour after my landing at San Francisco.

ACCIDENTS DUE TO HUMAN DEFECTS

When there is an airplane accident the fault is usually human, not mechanical. Army Air Service experts estimate that more than 90 per cent. of such mishaps may be traced to human fallibility.

Major L. H. Bauer, Army Air Service flight surgeon, declares that "of the cadets at West Point and Annapolis, who are supposed to be of more than average physical makeup, less than 50 per cent. are physically qualified to fly." Justifying the disqualification of pilots who have already won their wings but are proved to be defective according to scientific standards and tests, Major Bauer writes:

Guynemer, the French ace, is sometimes cited as an example of a successful flyer with physical defects. He was a successful flyer, but Guynemer met his death in the air as a result of these physical defects.

Resnati was killed at Hazelhurst when he flew against the advice of a flight surgeon. A flyer at an Eastern field, disqualified because of defective judgment of distance, wrapped his plane around a tree because he misjudged his distance from it.

Most commercial pilots, as well as military aviators, are subjected to periodic physical examination and must pass a stiff test for mental as well as physical fitness for their work. Although many of the newer and larger passenger planes carry flying mechanics who can relieve the pilot if necessary, most of the planes yet in service depend solely upon one-man control.

It is frequently asked by those who have

never flown: What is the physical effect of flying upon the passenger? It depends mainly upon weather conditions and the ability of the passenger to stand the uneven motion of a plane when the airways are "bumpy." Although some of the best of pilots and air travelers become airsick now and then, I do not believe that most people are affected much by it.

In good weather ordinary flying is almost entirely delightful. The altitudes at which passenger-carrying planes are usually flown are seldom high enough to affect heart action; ordinarily they are from 2,000 to 4,000 feet. In unsettled weather the comfort of the traveler depends to a considerable extent upon the skill of the pilot. Some types of planes have a greater degree of inherent stability than others, as in the case of vessels that travel in water.

For the passenger who is susceptible to the effects of irregular motion the best types are monoplanes having no struts connecting wing with fuselage. This design allows an unobstructed view of the ground. When the view is partly obstructed by the lower wing of a biplane, a sesquiplane, or by the diagonal struts of some types of monoplane, the eyes are tricked into following their movement over the ground, and when that movement is irregular the jerkiness produced in the optic nerve soon induces effects which result in a melancholy longing for terra firma.

EYE AND NERVE BALANCE

Flight surgeons when testing pilots pay close attention to the eyes. To quote Major Bauer again:

The tests for ocular balance are very important, because defective muscle balance causes strain, headache, fatigue and results in inattention and carelessness, to say nothing of the danger of double vision. Workers in the Royal Air Force found that a large number of bad landings were due to defective ocular balance. The ability to see something off at the side when looking straight ahead is highly important, especially for the combat pilot.

About 80 per cent. of the groundings (removal from flying duty), temporary and permanent, are due to defects of the nervous make-up. Only one with sound nervous stability can withstand the fatigue of flying for any length of time.

This fatigue to some extent affects passenger as well as pilot, particularly on cross-country flights of considerable distance. As at sea, complete relaxation is possible only in good weather; even then, the insistent monotone of motor and propeller, muffled though it may be in the cabin of a large plane, may slightly disturb normal nerve balance on a more than ordinarily long flight.

DEVICES FOR COMFORT

As the race becomes physically more accustomed to flying, and aircraft design is improved, transportation by air will become increasingly comfortable. Airway travel of the future will be at higher altitudes, to avoid fog and clouds and to find calmer air and consequently easier flying. Instruments are being developed which will make the navigator of the air more independent of ground markings. Morris Titterington's Pioneer earth inductor compass, used by the World Flyers and Commander Byrd's airplane expedition to the North Pole, already achieves this to a considerable extent. The radio compass is another important factor in this development.

Protection against the intense cold of the upper atmosphere is already being devised. Aviators in pursuit of altitude records, flying between seven and eight miles above the earth's surface in temperatures between 80 and 90 degrees below zero, but protected by special clothing and hermetically sealed cockpits and supplied with artificially produced oxygen, have come down to report little discomfort. Aeronautical engineers say it will be possible to produce entirely comfortable conditions in large cabins, making special clothing unnecessary.

There are meteorologists who believe that in the higher altitudes will be found trade winds which will increase the speed of aircraft by as much as 300 miles an hour, in various directions at different strata. That is for the future to determine. What has already been accomplished by the first generation of men to fly assures us that in the air there has been found a new and almost limitless field of extension for human activity. The magic carpet has become a reality; it is now a common carrier.

The Protestant Church and Religious Tolerance

By MARK MOHLER

Unitarian Clergyman

THE declaration of a Methodist bishop, that "No Governor who kisses the papal ring can come within gunshot of the White House as President," opens anew one of the most difficult, because one of the most elusive, problems that face a democracy like ours. As a statement of fact, this pronouncement can be judged only in the light of the future; but as an expression of purpose, it presents a sentiment which dominated American politics until long after Independence, though its effectiveness has considerably decreased, especially during the last generation or so.

Like the mother country, the English colonies were fiercely anti-Catholic. Perhaps the best illustration of this is Lord Baltimore's experience with Maryland, which he had hoped would be a refuge for his persecuted fellow-religionists. Protestants rushed into the new settlement in such numbers that soon the proprietor was forced to rescue the Romanist minority with the famous but much misunderstood "Toleration Act." This statute did not provide religious liberty in the modern sense. It sought simply the protection of those "professing to believe in Jesus Christ" from molestation in the exercise of their faith—at that time, indeed, a notable advance. Yet even this limited benefit was nullified when the friendly King was overthrown by the Puritan Parliament. So, too, in Rhode Island, famed for freedom in religion, the liberal spirit of the founder did not long survive him, for Roger Williams was centuries ahead of his day with his ideal of a State practicing the principle of "full libertie in religious concernsments." The colony later restricted political rights to those "professing Christianity, Roman Catholics excepted." While, in this case, there is no instance of actual persecution, it is also true that the number of "papists" around Narragansett Bay did not make

them a serious factor, and this may account for the continuance of toleration. At any rate, to quote from Professor Edward P. Cheyney's *European Background of American History*: "No American colony ever reached the position in which it could provide a positively secure refuge to Catholics."

It is not surprising, therefore, that English colonial America remained predominantly Protestant. Though Anglicans persecuted Puritans in Virginia, and Puritans retaliated in New England, there was ample opportunity for members of both groups to find protection in their respective sections. At the same time, in the middle colonies there was such a conglomeration of sects, British and continental, that in spite of legal restriction no one of them was able to dominate the situation. Yet from all these somewhat precarious benefits Roman Catholics were "excepted."

With Independence came new victories for the legal separation of Church and State. It is significant that disestablishment resulted not from the voluntary adoption of the principle by the religious groups in power but from the force of circumstances. With the exception of a very few idealists, like Roger Williams and William Penn, the colonists brought to America the Old World conception that no social order could endure unless supported by the disciplinary function of an ecclesiastical system and that therefore the political powers were bound to enforce the decrees of the supernaturally ordained interpreters of the divine will. For Protestantism had not abandoned this position. It had simply nationalized the supreme authority within various geographical districts, thus substituting in Western Europe many Popes for one, though not all these self-appointed prophets attained the temporal crowns sought after. In this very

diversity, however, was the seed of true liberty. Besides the official establishments set up in most of the colonies, there were numerous religious communities which migrated to the New World and maintained what for all practical purposes amounted to theocracies. As long as any settlement remained homogeneous, or generally so, the enforcement of ecclesiastical authority met no serious opposition; but as the younger generations developed new views, and the representatives of other faiths multiplied, toleration and then freedom were won for all. Thus the cosmopolitan character of the population made disestablishment comparatively easy in the middle colonies, while in the struggle over the new State Governments in the South the tidewater Anglicans were forced to give way before the attack of the back country nonconformists, led by aristocratic free-thinkers, like Thomas Jefferson. On the other hand, in Massachusetts and Connecticut the Puritan element remained strong enough to preserve a modified union of the civil and religious power for about fifty years after Independence; it was then divided by the Unitarian controversy and the last of the legal establishments fell. Likewise, the first amendment to the Federal Constitution resulted from the mutual jealousy of the various sects, which thereby sought, not to further religious liberty, but to restrain "Congress" from interfering with local situations.

This progress toward freedom, however, did not at first benefit Catholics. Three-quarters of a century of national development were required to accomplish the complete removal of restrictive legislation which had barred the Catholics from the franchise and from election to office; and popular sentiment, like that revealed in the Methodist bishop's declaration cited at the opening of this article, has continued to work without legal aid. To overcome this requires, apparently, a much longer time. No detailing of the political phase of this change need be given here, since the general histories have fully described it; but the ecclesiastical record is worth reviewing because of its great significance for our present national problem. We freely boast our ideals of religious liberty, meanwhile ignoring the fact that elements of the union

of Church and State may persist unofficially.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION ESTABLISHED

Toleration of all religious groups is quite firmly established in our American society today. We have moved a long way from the situation in which Lord Baltimore's first colonists found themselves, when both Anglicans and Puritans believed they were called of God to save the sacred soil of the New World from what to them was the polluting influence of Catholic altars. Not even the most hopeful of those pioneer priests could have pictured the day of the mammoth gathering at the Eucharistic Congress held in Chicago in the Summer of 1926. Instead of the hated, hunted handful of refugees, fearing to make any display of their symbols of worship, there marched a multitude of believers accompanying a procession of such ecclesiastical splendor as has probably never been seen before anywhere in the Christian world. Ruling officials of that faith bowed themselves in recognition of the spiritual authority of the Pope, while administrators claiming membership in other sects, or in none at all, bestowed honor upon the high representatives of a great communion. This demonstration of regal glory, with its crowns and thrones, flowing robes and kneeling worshipers, was the more striking in America in view of the fact that when royalty visit the United States they discard the trappings of their rank and outdo the most confirmed of our society democrats. But Princes of the Church in their religious ceremony excite no such resentment except in the intolerant. That the latter are the exception would appear from the absence of any effort, at least open effort, to hinder the congress. On the contrary, every facility was provided for its complete success. The public press gave the occasion abundant space, and Protestant journals commented sympathetically.

Catholics also have had to learn the principle of toleration during these centuries of American development. What to the modern mind seems the narrowest bigotry must be understood as characteristic of the times during which the colonies were being established. Thus, those early

priests sought apparently to make Maryland a Roman settlement, as Virginia was Anglican and Massachusetts was Puritan. But their zeal had to be restrained by the Lord Proprietor lest the whole venture should be overthrown. What they would have done had they attained supremacy can be conjectured only on the basis of their record in Western Europe during the period of their domination. Certainly it would not be surprising if some papal fanatics dreamed of making the New World the scene of another Inquisition. As the members of the sect grew more powerful politically, they made serious attacks upon the public school system as dangerous to their faith. Their attitude in this matter, however, has changed to co-operation. While they have greatly multiplied their facilities for parochial instruction, their children also crowd the tax-supported institutions. Is it not probable that this intermingling of the later generations of once warring sects has brought about the new spirit of "live and let live" in the ministry of religion? All the denominations vie with one another and engineer their programs for advantage, but it is a fair contest, at least on the surface, and the shrewdest carries off the victory.

FEARS OF "ROMANISM" BAR FULL EQUALITY

Full political freedom, however, without regard to religious beliefs, is another matter, as will be seen from the pronouncements of the ecclesiastical bodies. Starting with the assumption that the United States was a Protestant country, the various sects were thrown into a panic by the rapid spread of "Romanism" which began in the early part of the nineteenth century with the multiplying immigration from Catholic countries. Because the newly enfranchised religionists were using their growing political power to end the majority's traditional administration and teaching in tax-supported institutions, there arose a strong protest against what was described as their effort to "control" the public schools, which were declared to be the bulwark against "popery." At a convention of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1844, a committee, of which Horace Bushnell was a member, received the approval of the

assembly in its report that: "The liberty to *worship* God according to the dictates of conscience, conceded to our citizens by the Constitution, cannot, by any principle of legitimate interpretation, be construed into a right to embarrass the municipal authorities of this Christian and Protestant nation in the ordering of their district schools." In other words, toleration was taken for granted, but not equality. Non-Protestants could bask in the constitutional protection against interference with their religious rites, but they must not presume to claim full political rights. It was further argued that the elimination of the Bible from these institutions would be a sectarian act, since it would accede to the position of the Catholic Church that the King James version was a sectarian book. In a like vein was the tenor of "A Memorial of Sunday Presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church," presented to the House of Bishops in 1853. This appeal sought action to meet the situation caused, it was claimed, by "the consolidated forces of Romanism bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith." In the latter case, however, the recess commissioners, to whom the matter was referred, gave no encouragement to the anti-Catholic sentiment of the petition. On the contrary, with regard to the "Romish communion," they spoke of "the learning of their priesthood—and the self-sacrificing zeal of their missionaries." It was also suggested that a work similar to that of the "Sisters of Charity" should be instituted. Instead of "Protestant union," they urged "Christian union." This attitude has been maintained officially by the Episcopal body, despite occasional outbursts from the so-called "evangelical" party.

Catholic missionary efforts continued with increasing success, through the aid, it was alleged, of "extensive and munificent patronage" from abroad. Churches and cathedrals rose in every important centre throughout the vast new empire of the West. The cause was furthered, not only by the direct ministry of the sacraments, but also by the maintaining of schools, orphanages and refuge homes for all kinds of unfortunates, a scheme that was said to work when the appeals of "a foreign and

suspected priesthood" would certainly fail. This "attempt to enslave the youthful intellect and conscience, and to bring them in subjection to the priesthood of a soul-destroying idolatry and perversion of Christianity" demanded, according to the opposition (Minutes, Presbyterian and Congregational Convention, 1844, pp. 12, 29, 34), "the promptest vigilance, the most active efforts, and the utmost liberality, by fostering our schools, academies and colleges, and by promoting universal education, and the free and general circulation of the sacred scriptures." "In view of the criminal neglect of Protestants" in the past, it was proposed also to erect philanthropic institutions in order to counteract the "Romanist" influence. Yet, while thus admitting their own deficiency and decrying Catholic zeal for converting "Protestant" America, various denominations were calling upon their own people to support similar Protestant enterprises in "papal countries," though these have had comparatively little success. In fact, even in the United States, it seems that not all the constituents of these sects felt the fear of being enslaved, for we find resolutions like that passed by the Presbyterian General Assembly as early as 1835, declaring "That it is utterly inconsistent with the strongest obligation of Christian parents to place their children for education in Roman Catholic seminaries."

Another proposal for combating the advance of Catholicism in this country was the union of the opposition forces. In 1845 the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention at Detroit considered the suggestion. While they concluded that there were enough associations already and that "the very nature of the anti-papal Reformation" required "a reliance chiefly on the properly scriptural instrumentalities for its accomplishment," nevertheless they resolved that "the energetic and untiring endeavors of Romish and other prelatists [presumably the High Church Episcopalians] in this country to subvert the principles of Christian liberty, and to supplant the spiritual system of the gospel by one of dead forms and outward observance, call for the most sleepless vigilance and the most vigorous exertions on the part of the true friends of the Bible; and especially for the assiduous

cultivation among all evangelical Protestants of the true gospel unity—the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Just twenty years later, "the fearful growth of the papacy, both as an ecclesiastical and civil power in this land," stirred the Old and New School Presbyterian General Assemblies, the Congregational National Council, the Y. M. C. A. and other bodies to cooperate in a movement for union inaugurated at a meeting in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 23, 1865. But apparently nothing definite resulted. Then, in 1867, the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance was formed. Though this organization disclaimed any rabidly anti-Catholic policy, such as that proposed by some of the constituent bodies, nevertheless it declared its opposition to the political influence of the Catholic Church, and in New York, for instance, campaigned against candidates whom it suspected.

"NATIVIST" MOVEMENTS ENCOURAGED

In view of the above record, it seems clear that if the "nativist" movements, which have appeared at intervals since the third decade of the last century, were not actually originated by these ecclesiastical bodies they have at least been encouraged by them. Responsible Protestant leaders can hardly be suspected of complicity in riots such as occurred in some of the principal cities; but certainly their pronouncements and preachments must have inflamed the minds of those who carried out those assaults. The verbal attack upon Catholicism was revived in 1916 by the Methodist Bishops in their official "address" before the General Conference. After contrasting the New World civilization with that of the Old, from which the "fathers" fled, they declared: "We have come again to the parting of the ways." In Europe, they explained, the Roman Church claimed the right to rule the State, with the known consequences. Then the statement continues: "Americans are aroused, therefore, to have no Monarch of the Church to be Monarch of the State. It is for this cause they have looked with such distrust and apprehension on 'Romanism as an ecclesiastico-political power, which forces itself upon the attention of all patriotic and evangelical thinkers who

know her [the Roman Church's] history and appreciate her greatness of spirit as a menace to our liberties and a snare to our people." Again, no one will suppose that the modern Ku Klux Klan was organized at the General Conference, but can there be any doubt that it received there a great impetus? The only alternative is to interpret the bishops' pronouncement as a mere rhetorical flourish, impotent to effect any practical result. Indeed, if their accusation that the Catholic Church is "a menace to our liberties and a snare to our people" is true, then it would seem to be their unquestioned duty as citizens, if not as churchmen, to further some movement to rescue our institutions. But the evil of these "nativist" societies has been that they were founded as much on misapprehension and prejudice as on fact.

Likewise, the bishops, in taking their position, do not sufficiently discriminate in the use of terms. Some "Americans" have looked with distrust upon Catholicism as a dangerous political force, but their number is decreasing, while increasing millions who have demonstrated their loyalty to this, their native or adopted, country look to that church for spiritual guidance in the complex social problems of our Republic. That one's religion influences his politics is to the credit of the former rather than to the discredit of the latter, as the sects themselves have maintained. Whatever may have been true in the past, the traditional antithesis, Americans vs. Romanists, hardly fits the present situation. Again, history reveals distinctions among the "fathers." For instance, the Puritans did flee from a social order in which the "Monarch of the Church" was "Monarch of the State"; but when they reached the New World they set up an oligarchy in Church and State and soon were persecuting Methodists, whose leader, Wesley, insisted on keeping his religious enterprise in the Anglican communion with the Monarch. In other words, as has been pointed out, the policy of the separation of Church and State is not the gift of "the fathers" who came across the sea. To the extent to which we have learned the lesson of "full libertie in religious concerns," it is the result, not the beginning of development in our country. Moreover, in the

achievement of this great boon, the Catholic fathers' challenge of Protestant supremacy has played its part along with the rivalry of the sects in general.

Only by acknowledging this fact of our national history can we hope to remove the last vestige of the non-legal religious qualifications put upon political freedom. If one portion of the citizens is taught that the Protestant fathers won liberty against the Catholic hierarchy, and another portion is taught that Catholic fathers have had to win theirs from an unwilling Protestant majority, the tradition of fear, suspicion and hatred, which has always been the inspiration for oppression, will continue to menace our institutions. Bishop Headlam of Gloucester, England, wrote in an article published a few months ago in the *English Congregational Quarterly*: "It is the interference with religious liberty * * * that has been the most damaging of religious influences in Christendom for many centuries, and is probably so at the present time." The pronouncement of his American contemporary quoted at the beginning of this article seems to be an illustration, for there can be no true religious liberty that does not rest on political equality.

CATHOLICS AND THE PRESIDENCY

Yet there are communities in the United States where it is a common tradition that no Catholic can be elected to office, and others where Protestants have become as surely barred. As to sectarianism and the Presidency, the issue was openly raised in the New York convention of 1924; and some experts declare that the South, solid in its Protestantism, as in its Democracy, is the chief hindrance to the aspirations of any member of the other faith.

As regards the practical effect of openly raising religious barriers about the Presidency at the present time, the future alone can tell; but judging by the past, several things may result. The political leaders may avoid the issue, except within the Democratic Party, by continuing to nominate only Protestants. If a Catholic should be chosen as a candidate for the highest office in the country, the introduction of sectarianism into the election campaign might lead to a situation like that which followed the famous remark about

"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," made by a clerical supporter of Blaine. In other words, it might stir up such a tide of resentment among detached voters as to carry the intended victim to victory. We might even discover that our popular notions about the party alignments of the various denominational constituencies is erroneous, or that political loyalty is stronger than ecclesiastical loyalty. The worst possible consequence would be the conviction on the part of the Catholics that their faith barred them from full political equality. That there will always be some to challenge the rights of their fellow-citizens on such grounds can be readily appreciated by all; but that in this day of supposed enlightenment the majority should deliberately set themselves to deny complete freedom to any portion of the population would mock our boast concerning the separation of Church and State and would invite a future struggle more bitter than any in the past. The time may come when the present minority may wield the power of the ballots. Indeed, that seems a likely development; for, although the Roman Church has often been declared to be incompatible with our American institutions and therefore doomed to failure, the statistics point to another conclusion. In Europe, moreover, autocracy is rife, and Catholicism, we are told, is having a great revival. In the United States, democracy is being seriously pronounced a failure, and the dissolution of our civilization through the growth of irreligion under our free system is confidently predicted. If, as was declared in 1870, America is to be the scene of "the final struggle between Romanism and Protestantism," will any one prophesy today with such confidence as then what the outcome is to be?

But why these religious qualifications on political liberty? One may grant that the medieval church was autocratic, but it should also be remembered that John Cotton said: "A democracy is no fit government either for Church or for commonwealth." If Protestants have learned better in America (which might be questioned), is there any reason for not believing that Catholics have also? If the Romanist hierarchy have not professed conversion, is it not of equal import that Protestants still

praise the Puritan fathers of the New England theocracy and advocate the principles of the "Reformation" which continued the policy of the union of Church and State, the vital issue at stake in our present problem? On the other hand, a most significant fact is that in recent times both Catholic and Protestant pronouncements have disclaimed any purpose to impose ecclesiastical authority upon distinctly political situations. Though in both cases it is affirmed that this has been their traditional policy, we can pass over this idealization of history and assume the statements of present principles to be reliable.

CHURCH ALOOF FROM POLITICS

The most striking fact about these declarations is their complete accord. In the "Episcopal Address" before the Methodist General Conference of 1924 we find this sentiment: "But should the Church go into politics? As an organized unit, no. But expressing itself through its individual members, yes." This official attitude is expanded in a report adopted by this same body as long ago as 1868. It declared:

The Church and the civil government have their separate spheres. * * * They become helps to each other, not by political union but by performing each its own function in its own legitimate sphere. We do not assume for the Church the right to arraign "the powers that be." * * * [but] the right and duty of speaking words of praise or censure, approval or condemnation, of the great principles of law and government according as they harmonize or antagonize with the essential ethics of true religion.

Compare this view with that of Count Giuseppe Della Torre, editor of the *Osservatore Romano*, official organ of the Vatican. In this article, published a year ago in the United States (*Forum*, March, 1926), we read: "The Church does not exercise a political function; politics has a part in its program only when some political action reflects on moral and religious principles." Among the numerous quotations from the present and former Popes with which this authoritative opinion is fortified occurs the word of Benedict XV to the Portuguese Bishops in 1919: "The Church must not take sides with factions; neither is she to be used by political parties." The article from which these selec-

tions are chosen explains also that the Church seeks to instruct its members in Christian ideals, thereby making them better citizens.

Who is to determine when politics enters the realm of ethics in such a way as to call forth action by the ecclesiastical organizations? In both views cited above the answer is "the Church," which means in each case the taking of action by the Church. That all sects will not agree as to what distinguishes religious endeavor from mere factional strife, has been demonstrated repeatedly in the history of American Christianity. Denominational bodies have often shifted their positions as to what are moral issues. This, of course, is to be expected of humans; but in view of the evidence here presented, is it not the part of reason and charity for all religious groups to take each other's word with regard to political action? Considering both Protestant and Catholic records, can either consistently challenge the other on the basis of the spirit of domination in politics? Should they not rather trust each other and extend to each other full liberty, untrammelled by even non-legal qualifications?

This issue, it should be remembered, is much more vital than a mere question as to the accuracy of those who appeal to the national founders. Religious freedom in America, like political democracy, has been furthered in the past largely through the influence of the frontier. Roger Williams could escape to the wilderness. Thomas Hooker migrated in another direction. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians filled in the back country. Methodists and Baptists built up their strength in the ever-expanding West. Now that the free lands are gone, where shall the ecclesiastically oppressed find refuge? The perfectly evident answer is that all faiths will have to live together. Have we, then, "come again to the parting of the ways"? Must we face the possibility of an ultimate struggle for supremacy between the two great divisions of Christianity? The surest way to bring such a calamity to pass would be by continuing to expect it and plan for it. The only possibility of avoiding it is to act on the principle which we boast in our moments of exaltation, the complete separation of Church and State, not only in

theory, but in practice. This is suggested by that better pronouncement of the Methodist Bishops in 1924: "We do not propose a Protestant vote, nor a Roman Catholic vote, nor a Methodist vote, as such, but a Christian vote—a fearless expression in the field of politics of the patriotism and conscience of the servants of Jesus Christ"—and, it might be added, of the Children of Israel; for those ideals which make for glory of a nation are the universal elements of religion.

[EDITORIAL NOTE—As these pages were going to press the Editor received from Mr. Mohler the following paragraphs noting certain important pronouncements:

1. The Editor of *The Christian Register* declared in the Jan. 6 issue that, because of the "state of mind" of Protestants, "who are a majority," the Smith candidacy would raise a spirited controversy and therefore the Governor should withdraw from the Presidential field. In a reply to this, appearing in the same journal (Jan. 27), Rev. William I. Sullivan, a former Roman Catholic priest and now a prominent Unitarian minister of St. Louis, offers vigorous dissent. He asks: "How could we say, without shame: 'We are a land of liberty except for Catholics. All others may aspire to the Presidency, but a Catholic, however patriotic and able, may not?' It seems to me that to establish this rule would work a havoc in all that America has ever meant, greater than any disaster dreamed of from the Pope."

2. In its issue of Jan. 20 *The Christian Register* printed a symposium of replies by religious editors to its question: "Can a Catholic be loyal to his Church and, as President, to his country?" It is introduced with this comment: "Their [the editors'] letters may be taken as representative of the denominations in a large measure." Two decline to answer. One (Reformed Church) is "unconvinced." Eight (including Baptist, Methodists and Presbyterians) give an unqualified "No." Three (Congregationalist, Lutheran and Swedenborgian) say "No, if Catholic were logical," but they think patriotism would probably overcome ecclesiasticism. Only two (Jewish and Universalist) reject the religious issue and approve a Catholic for President on citizenship grounds. Of these last, Leo Wise of the *American Israelite* adds: "I also believe that as matters now stand no Roman Catholic, however splendid his character and record, could be elected President of the United States."]

Our Spendthrift Schools

By JOHN H. BUTLER

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IS public education costing us too much? Have school taxes reached the breaking point? Are school boards and school Superintendents recklessly driving us upon the financial rocks, with their demands for costly educational gewgaws?

From Bangor, Me., to Seattle, Wash., there springs up every year an enormous crop of expensive new school buildings, magnificent in their brick exteriors, marble corridors, gymnasiums, elaborate workshops, spacious auditoriums and a thousand other things that were not found in our school buildings a generation back. We hear, with panic, that they are teaching our children many things that we were not taught—expensive things, the practical value of which we are strongly inclined to doubt. The little red schoolhouse has given way to splendid consolidated schools. The country boys and girls ride back and forth by autobus. There are school psychologists, school nurses, school dentists, athletic directors, special teachers of cooking, dancing, dramatics and many other things that were never dreamed of when we of the older generation went to school. We are told that the cost of education has been multiplied so many times that some communities are facing financial chaos. Whereas the cost of education per child a hundred years ago was as low as \$4 a year, it now runs above \$100 in many cities.

Let it not be thought that there have been no bitter outcries against all this. Some say that already the pendulum has started to swing back. Some say that much of the motive force for the reaction is being supplied by schoolmen themselves, who, conscience-stricken at the orgy of spending they have brought on, are trying to restore sanity to educational expenditures before the whole public school structure is wrecked. The man who did possibly more than any other educator to start the pendulum on its backward swing was Dr. Henry Pritchett, head of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teach-

ing. In a slashing indictment against extravagance, he has declared that the American people were wasting millions on absurd "fads and frills." We are educating, he tells us, many thousands of children who should be in industry. He then goes on to hurl charge after charge against the schools and school executives of the country. This indictment came at a time when people were alarmed at what seemed to be the reckless way in which our educational administrators were throwing away the taxpayers' money. Seemingly, the schoolmen were paralyzed by this attack by one of their members. They could give no convincing answer to Dr. Pritchett's accusations nor to the thousands of other charges that were now flung at them from every side. Thus a panic seized the taxpayers and the reaction set in.

Several States ousted their Commissioners of Education for having spent too much money. Other States cut educational appropriations so drastically that their school programs were hopelessly crippled. In California the Summer sessions of the seven State teachers' colleges were wiped out, a step which deprived thousands of teachers of the only chance they had to better their training. Other Western States followed suit. In Alabama the State Legislature had just authorized a considerable increase in the salaries of County Superintendents, an increase in budgets of educational institutions and a forward-looking program to better, at least a little, the deplorable condition of its rural and small town schools. On the wave of the reaction a group of rural newspaper men was swept into the Legislature and the new program was menaced. Only the prompt action of the State Educational Association saved some of the reforms from the wreck. Other Southern States suffered the same experience.

In the Middle West, where the hard-hit farmer was writhing under heavy losses, the reaction was possibly more severe. But

in the Middle West it was not the State school programs that suffered as much as the local programs. It was the smaller cities and the rural districts of this part of the country that staggered under the blow. Although schools in the larger cities were not curtailed so drastically, the natural increases in their expenditures, warranted by their growth in population, were shocked to a standstill. Many cities, like Chicago, were forced to use the double shift system because no money for additional school buildings was granted. Under this deplorable system high school boys and girls attended school for but a half a day, one shift in the morning, one in the afternoon. Several Eastern cities, led conspicuously by New York, adopted the same system. It was either that or the denying of a high school education to thousands.

In 1912 the average wage of high school teachers, fresh from college, was, in the Middle West, about \$1,800 a year. Now it has dropped to about \$1,500. In Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Missouri, Illinois and other neighboring States thousands of local school boards wiped out of existence their domestic science, manual training and physical education departments. "Back to the three R's" became the battle cry. Away with the "fads and frills."

Thousands of small towns reduced the salaries of their school Superintendents to a bare minimum. When a Superintendent refused to accept a smaller salary, he was released. In his place was appointed a cheaper man. It made little difference about his qualifications for the work, so long as he could be employed for less money. The illustrations given here could be multiplied many times.

The strange thing about the whole nation-wide retrenchment was that it was founded upon no actual facts. No statistics on the cost of education have been gathered. No real evidence was used to substantiate the bitter charges of extravagance. It was when the storm of the reaction was just ready to reach its height that four educational foundations were persuaded to back a nation-wide inquiry into the cost of public schools, so that there would be available an actual body of facts on the situation. Organized as the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission and

headed by Dr. George D. Strayer of Teachers College, Columbia University, a body of workers began early in 1921 on their monumental task, the first of its kind ever undertaken in this country.

The cost of education for the country as a whole is now available, as are also volumes dealing with detailed costs in several representative States. The utmost care, many thousands of dollars, hundreds of highly skilled workers and several years of time have gone into the compiling of these costs, so that now we have reliable information to work with when we talk of school extravagance, when we charge education with costly "fads and frills." We can now see what our schools are costing us at present, compared to what they have cost in the past; and from this we can estimate what they will cost in the future. We can compare school costs to other costs, such as roads; we can see what we pay for education on the basis of what we earn.

140 PER CENT. RISE IN DECADE

The decade between 1910 and 1920 is the easiest to study, because of the census and other statistical computations made in those years. With the effect of a blow comes the knowledge that during those ten years the cost of education in the United States jumped from \$500,000,000 to \$1,200,000,000—actually increased 140 per cent. Our schools truly seem to have indulged in a mad orgy of spending. If they continue to increase at this rate they will be costing \$2,760,000,000 in 1930. But gross figures like these tell a very small part of the story. They are given in dollars. As a means of comparing actual cost of a definite thing from year to year the dollar is an unreliable index. In 1910, for example, a pair of good shoes cost \$4; in 1920 a pair, no better, cost \$10. This does not represent an increase of 150 per cent. in the cost of shoes, but a decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar. So it is with the cost of education; the increase in this ten-year period from \$500,000,000 to \$1,200,000,000 does not necessarily represent an actual pro rata increase in the cost of education. It may merely show a decrease in purchasing power.

If we are to measure cost of education justly, we must use comparisons. The total

governmental expenditures, Federal, State and local, jumped during those ten years from \$2,834,436,006 to \$10,317,379,557. The increase was approximately 270 per cent., as measured by dollars, while the increase in just those expenditures going to education was only 140 per cent. Instead of an abnormal rise in school expenditures it seems we have had an abnormal fall. If we gave the same proportion of our taxes to education in 1920 that we did in 1910, the percentage increase, instead of being 140, would have been 270, to correspond with the general increase. If we sanctioned all other Government expenditures in 1920, we should have sanctioned a school expenditure of \$1,850,000,000, instead of protesting at the actual cost, which was \$600,000,000 less.

There is, however, the war to be considered; much of the increase in our governmental expenditures in 1920 was due to interest on debt. If we take a more valid means of comparison and omit the expense of national defense, the largest item of governmental expenditures next to education is highway construction. How has the increase in cost of education kept pace with the increase in road building? In spite of the reputed extravagance in the former, school costs did not increase as rapidly as road building costs. Where our school costs jumped only 140 per cent. in the ten-year period, we find that road costs leaped 163 per cent.—from \$311,606,461 to \$819,644,986. At present our highways are costing us two-thirds as much as our schools.

There is a still better way in which we can determine to what extent we are supporting public education, that is, the measure by which we can compare the cost of a commodity today with its cost at the time of Socrates, namely, income. If we know that a loaf of bread today costs one-twenty-fifth of a laborer's daily wage; if we also know that a loaf of bread in the day of Socrates cost one-twenty-fifth of a laborer's daily income, then we can say that the actual cost of bread is the same now as it was at the time of Socrates. If the charges against the schools are true; if education has reached the point where we can no longer go on paying more and more, then it must be that our schools have kept on absorbing a larger and larger share

of our income, until that income is staggering under the burden. In other words, an investigation should show that we are now paying a much greater percentage of our income for schools than we used to pay. In 1910 we were spending 1.6 per cent. of our national income for education. After ten years had passed, after our schools had grown so tremendously, as will be shown further on, education was taking but 1.7 per cent. of the national income. What is more to the point, at the present time it has fallen back again to the old figure—1.6 per cent.

Other facts, however, that have been brought to light by scientific investigations should receive consideration. An understanding of what has actually happened to the educational system of this country during the last fifteen years will enable us to appreciate the full significance of the startling findings of the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION

In the past, schoolmen have been too impractical, too scholarly; they have refused, in a hurt, dignified way, to come down to earth and talk facts. The public has grown tired of inspiring speeches that eulogize education. Now, thanks to the practical educators, who are at last coming into their own, the public is getting facts. To begin with, during the ten years between 1910 and 1920 our population increased by 14,000,000. In addition, the compulsory school age limit was raised and school attendance laws were far more strictly enforced, so that, in 1920, we were educating not only the children of more parents but also more of the children of this larger number of parents. The increase in the number of children in our public schools was 2,250,000. When we educate more children it costs more money, but this added expense is not necessarily extravagance.

In 1922 the average cost of educating a pupil in the elementary schools of California was \$121. The average cost of educating a pupil in high school was exactly \$313, or about two and a half times as much. In the whole country there were over twice as many boys and girls in high schools in 1920 as we had in 1910. If

every State spent as much per high school student as did California, these additional high school children would have accounted for \$365,248,464 of that great national increase in the cost of education—over half of the difference between the dollar cost of education in 1910 and 1920. There are those who will maintain that this is extravagance—this extension of high school education to twice as many boys and girls in 1920 as enjoyed it in 1910. But when we economize, whose children shall be barred from high school? It seems that we have committed ourselves to extending free public education to include at least eight years of elementary school and four years of high school, and either we must pay the bill or repudiate our step.

There has been a tremendous increase between 1910 and 1920 in the efficiency and the breadth of education given in our public schools. There were advocates of the old system who sneered at the "new-fangled" methods and grimly remarked that the country would be better off if our schools returned to "the good old three R's." They maintained that instruction in the old schools was good instruction, and that spelling was a fine art in the old days. What sort of spellers, they inquire, do our schools turn out today? One State Superintendent of Public Instruction wanted to find out. He had records of spelling bees in the old days and lists of words used. He gave these lists of words to pupils all over the State. To make sure that there was no error in his conclusions, he arranged spelling bees between the children and former spelling bee "stars." The results were astounding; the older generation was completely vanquished. The fact stands that spelling is far more efficiently taught now than it was in the old days, and so are reading, arithmetic and writing. The three precious R's have been mastered far better by the modern children than they were by the boys and girls of a generation or two ago. Moreover they have been mastered at a far earlier age.

NEW SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION

To supplement the three R's, to which the old-time school was largely confined, our schools of today have added a bewilderingly large number of other subjects.

Music, drawing, dramatics, shop work, domestic science and nature study are among those initiated in the elementary school. When it comes to the high school the number is multiplied many times. We had very little of these subjects when the cost of education was \$500,000,000. Manual training and domestic science were in their infancy in 1910 compared to 1920. Automobile repairing, millinery, journalism and many other of the bread-and-butter courses now offered in high schools were practically unheard of in 1910. We had commercial courses, but they were perfunctory, half-hearted and not to be confused with the efficient commercial departments of 1920.

In 1910 our high schools still considered that their chief function was to prepare boys and girls for college. That is why so few elementary school graduates went on through the upper four years. Knowing that the funds for college were lacking, they dropped out of school and found jobs, if they were boys, or looked ahead toward marriage if they were girls. Not so now. In spite of the inefficiency and waste attendant on all experiments, our vocational courses are actually turning out useful products—boys with a future ahead of them; and girls, who, in increasing numbers, are becoming self-supporting and ambitious citizens, instead of the old-time parasites, depending on parental bounty.

Another of these "fads" is the supervision of children in the schools by doctors, dentists and nurses. Little had been done in 1910. A tremendous lot had been done by 1920. Millions of school children were examined every year. Parents were told of defects in their boys and girls the existence of which they had never dreamed of. Through the aid of school nurses, dangerous epidemics were nipped in the bud; millions of dollars, as well as many young lives, were saved. Think how seldom our schools close down now for epidemics; but this new system costs a lot of money.

Since 1910 physical education for both boys and girls has made enormous strides. Critics say it is all costly nonsense and ought to be wiped out. Doctors contend that the greatest extravagance is the cost to human health in not spending more.

Teachers' salaries constitute from 70 to

80 per cent. of the yearly operation cost of schools. In inquiring into any increase in the cost of education we must give much attention to them. It is hard to tell what the average wage was in 1910 and in 1920. That there was and should have been a very large increase is certain, for the average teacher of 1920 was superior to the average teacher of 1910, just as the average teacher of ten years hence will be superior to the one of today. Educators say that the minimum training for every teacher should go two years above high school. California puts it at three years.

BETTER TRAINED TEACHERS

From 1910 to 1920 the movement for better trained teachers received a remarkable impetus. Normal schools were turned into teachers' colleges with longer courses and stricter requirements. Teaching certificates were made more difficult to obtain. The age limit for young teachers was raised. Certainly these steps were needed. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Scandinavians and Germans are all horrified at the youth of our elementary school teachers, declaring that children are taught by children, most of these immature teachers being girls. In Europe the school teacher is a schoolmaster, a well-trained man who has received an excellent education and has definitely chosen teaching as a life profession.

If we admit that every teacher should have had at least two years of education above the high school, what will we say when we find out that in the United States, for every teacher who has this minimum training there are three who have not? What will we say when we discover that in nine of our States 40 per cent. of the teachers actually have not completed a high school course? What shall we say to the fact that there are 30,000 teachers in this country who have never gone beyond the eighth grade? Why do we not get better teachers? Why do we not get older teachers, teachers with more training? Why do we not get more men into the schools? Our educators say it is because we do not pay salaries to attract them. Between 1910

and 1920 we began to awaken to that, and we began to pay better salaries. If fair salaries are offered, plenty of good teachers are available. Low salaries will only procure a class of people that teach because they cannot make a living at anything else.

In enumerating recent developments we could discuss the growth of intelligence testing by means of which the child is studied sympathetically and scientifically instead of being uncereemoniously labeled a failure in school because he did not pass a test an individual teacher thought fair. How many hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have been taught to fail in life by so-called failure in school? Schools today do not fail children simply because they cannot do the work others do.

We might go into the raising of scientific requirements for principals and superintendents, which is providing more intelligent and better trained heads of schools. We might study the new development in school buildings, new efficiency in ventilation, lighting, heating, and so on down the list.

Parents should study their schools themselves. They do not dream of what has been done. The amount they are willing to pay for schools is an exact estimate of the value they place on education; an exact gauge of their love for the welfare of their children. If school buildings are old and ramshackly, money will rebuild them. If teachers are unintelligent, money will secure better ones. If superintendents are unprogressive, there are thousands of good ones to be secured, if people recognize that, in education as in business, it takes a good salary to get a good man. The supply will not run out. As fast as the demand for trained school men grows the schools of education will provide them.

So stands the case for the schools. The evidence seems to show that our educators have groped ahead pretty efficiently, considering all they have done for our children during the last few years. The marvel seems to be, not that they have spent so much, but that they have spent so little in doing all that they have done.

Wiping Out Illiteracy in China

By LENNIG SWEET

Boys' Work Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Princeton-in-Peking

THIS is the story of how a young Chinese graduate of Yale is revolutionizing the life of one-fourth of the human race. What Socrates did for the thought of Greece, what Pasteur did for medical science, Y. C. James Yen is doing for democracy in Asia.

Yen, who conceived and founded the Popular Education Movement, is gradually teaching 320,000,000 people to read and write at the rate of a million a year, at a cost to each pupil of ninety-six hours' time and to the community of the equivalent of 50 cents per scholar. This has been done almost entirely by volunteer help, in a country in which there is no semblance of central Government and which has sunk into poverty and anarchy through fifteen years of civil war and brigandage.

Never before has it been possible for a Manchurian coolie to learn at first hand the thoughts of his countryman in Canton, or for him to read what is happening in Paris, in Vienna, in New York. Now millions are learning to understand the meaning of "China." For the three million textbooks which Yen has sold do not merely teach the pupils to recognize the puzzling Chinese characters; they also carry lessons concerning love of country, veneration of the heroes of old, the solidarity of the laboring classes, the imperialism of foreigners and the meaning of citizenship in a republic.

The indirect effect upon Christianity may be very great. Yen is a Christian and his life typifies Christianity in action. The Mass Education Movement, even if many of its sponsors are non-Christian, is an object lesson to the Chinese people of the spirit of Jesus working in the life of a nation, as it is an example to the foreign mission forces of the ability of Chinese Christians to do big things and to obtain financial support for them.

In government, in religion, in the literature which is being built overnight to serve the new reading public, in a fresh consciousness and self-respect, in the widening

of horizons, in all that education signifies the movement led by Yen means an accelerated development, almost revolutionary in its force. Well has President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University called it "the most significant undertaking in the Orient."

The story begins in the war days of 1916. The Allies had their backs against the wall. To conserve their diminishing man power they imported thousands of Chinese coolies into France. But these men were far from home. Their British or French officers could rarely speak their language. Disputes were numerous. The experiment was on the verge of breaking down when the Army thought of the Y. M. C. A., which recruited a number of Chinese college students to take charge of the work of building up the morale of their countrymen. One of these men was Yen. He had done his undergraduate work at Yale and only that June had received his M. A. from Princeton. His family has a long and honorable record among the gentry of his native Province of Szechuan, and he had always intended upon return to China to enter official life or teach in a university.

"What I experienced in those 'Y' huts in France changed all that," says Yen, still afire after ten years with the vision he had seen. "I learned at first hand the undreamed-of possibilities of these so-called 'lower classes' and saw as I lived with them how they grasped for the little knowledge we could give as famine sufferers snatch at food which means their very lives. Right then and there my colleague, Daniel C. Fu, and I decided to give our lives to the task of educating and uplifting the masses." When, after the war, Yen returned bent on giving the rudiments of an education to China's 320,000,000 illiterates, he found that the way had been prepared for him in a very extraordinary manner.

The Chinese are illiterate as a people, not because they do not have ability or a desire to learn, but because of the exceed-

ing difficulty of their written language, which has very little more similarity to the vernacular than Latin has to English. A man to become well versed in Chinese has to specialize in it for fifteen or twenty years. A Chinese student at Columbia by the name of Hu Shih felt this condition deeply. In 1916 he broke all precedent by writing a poem in the spoken tongue. Later he published an article which has sounded the battle cry of the literary reformers: "No dead language can produce a living literature. If China wants a living literature it must be in the living language." But the idea of using the vernacular in writing created great opposition. In 1919, however, came the awarding of Shantung to Japan at the Peace Conference. The Chinese Patriots found in the new literary movement a means to arouse the people and all opposition to the spoken language was literally drowned by the flood of publications released by the pamphleteers.

When Yen returned to China he found that Hu Shih had prepared the way for the education of the masses through the movement which has forced the use of the spoken forms in literary productions; while the students and teachers upon whom the burden of instructing the illiterates must fall had come to a realization of the need of producing an educated public opinion, if a true republic were to be built.

Searching for a medium through which to promote the education of the masses, Yen chose the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association because of its organization in twenty-seven of the key cities of the country and its membership of 44,000 Chinese of the student and literary classes who could become the backbone of his teaching force. Dr. David Z. T. Yui, its General Secretary, before occupying his present position had been the head of the lecture department of the Y. M. C. A., and as such had been a pioneer in bringing to the masses the message of science, good health and training for citizenship. He was thus not only in sympathy with Yen's aims, but could be of great assistance in devising methods to accomplish them.

Thus the work began. Professor H. C. Chen of South Eastern University, aided by others, spent several years of research on *The Determination of the Vocabulary*

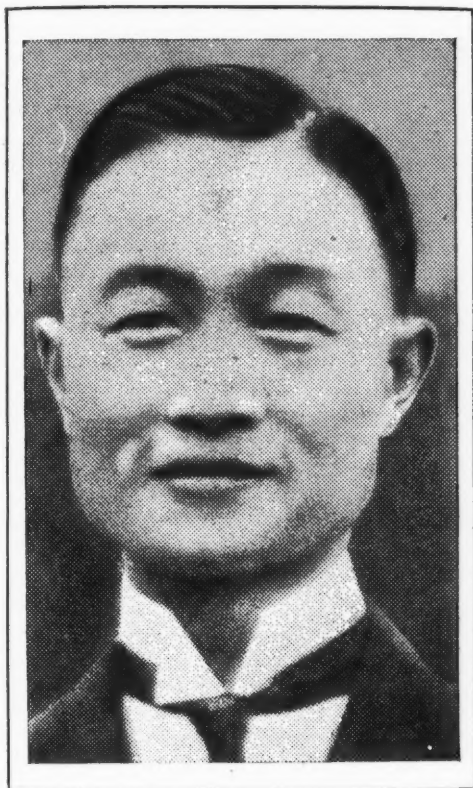
of the Common People. A total of over one million characters was checked to determine with what frequency the various ones occurred. One thousand were finally chosen as enabling an illiterate to write simple letters, keep accounts and read newspapers. Each character obtained its position among the thousand by fierce competition and by its ability to prove that it can be used in a sufficient number of combinations. The characters were then used to prepare four textbooks known as *The People's Thousand Character Lessons*. In each book are twenty-four lessons, planned for the twenty-four weekdays in a month. Any lesson can be learned in an hour and a half. The whole course can therefore be mastered in four months' time, using a total of ninety-six hours.

Yen had seen the great war work campaigns in the United States, and besides he was a secretary of the Y. M. C. A., an organization which has worked out with great efficiency the technique of cooperative community effort. So the Popular Education Campaign was organized, for Yen's purpose, as he says, is "not only to educate the ignorant that they may become good and intelligent citizens, but also to educate the rich and literate to share their possessions, both material and intellectual, with their less privileged fellow-citizens."

THE FIRST EXPERIMENT

Changsha, the capital of Hunan, was chosen as a typical city in which to start the experiment. Changsha is in the interior; it is old, conservative and slow moving. It was in the throes of the first anti-Christian agitation. Yen, a Christian, would be working under the auspices of a Christian institution. If success could be obtained here it could be obtained anywhere with this crucial test as to whether Chinese of influence really desired an educated, democratic citizenry or whether learning was to remain a special possession of a small privileged class. Would Yen's dreams and plans worked out during years of preparation really work? Or was "China, a land of literate citizens and enlightened democratic public opinion," to prove merely a pretty phantasy?

The rallying cry for the campaign had been chosen—"One Thousand Illiterates to



Y. C. JAMES YEN
Founder and director of the mass education movement in China

Learn to Read and Write One Thousand Characters in Four Months." The general committee of seventy of the leading business men, college presidents, editors, officials, leaders of labor and leaders of employers, teachers and students had met. The two great meetings for shop-owners were over. The campaign of publicity was under way. There had been a monster parade of the students of the city, armed with banners bearing such inscriptions as "An Illiterate Man Is a Blind Man," "Is Your Son Blind?" "Can You Endure to See Three-fourths of China Go Blind?" "Illiterate China, Suffering China." Eighty teachers had been recruited from the teaching staffs of the city schools; they were to receive nothing but \$4 a month for rikisha fare. Over sixty schoolrooms had been arranged for in Buddhist temples, Christian churches, private residences, police

stations, anywhere. Only the problem of enrolling remained. Would the shop-owners allow the workers to come? Did the ignorant wish to learn?

When the students who went out recruiting had covered only two-thirds of the city they were forced to stop, for instead of a thousand pupils there were 1,400, and no more could possibly be handled. Eighty-one per cent. of these enrolled for the schools were between the ages of 12 and 20. They proved to belong to fifty-five trades or professions, among them being rikisha coolies, silversmiths, policemen, chair bearers, barbers, firecracker makers, pig buyers, lumber dealers, distillers, bakers and scavengers. Of the 1,400 enrolled 1,200 attended classes until the last day, and when the Governor of the Province presented the certificates to those who had passed successfully 967 pupils marched away with their parchments under their arms. In the new course which followed 1,500 students enrolled, of whom 1,010 graduated.

That was in 1922. Since then mass education has swept through China like wildfire. As long ago as 1923 it became too large for the Young Men's Christian Association to handle as one of the many departments of its work. A conference was therefore called at the American Indemnity College in Peking and the Association for the Promotion of Mass Education was formed by representatives of twenty of China's twenty-one Provinces. Daniel Fu, Yen's former colleague in France, is, however, still with the Y. M. C. A., which continues to play a large part in mass education.

Since the Changsha campaign similar efforts have been made in many other cities. That in Hankow may be taken as typical. When, after the first campaign, which had enrolled over 3,600 pupils, the Y. M. C. A. found itself facing a serious deficit in its general expense account, it proposed to cut the number of popular education schools from one hundred to fifty. The committee in charge would not consider this for a moment, and by its own efforts raised \$12,787, the amount necessary to carry on the work. The contribution list was headed by the Chinese Bank-

ers' Association, which made itself responsible for twenty schools.

Dr. E. L. Hall, at that time Educational Director of the Hankow "Y," has this to say of some of the typical popular education schools and pupils in that great industrial city:

Eighteen railway men crossed the Yangtze River, a distance of two miles, to come to our school taught by stereopticon lanterns in the Central "Y" building, until the railroad officials opened a room in their office building. The teacher for this new school lived in the Borough of Hanyang, across the Han River, and made a round trip journey of about twenty miles every night.

I noticed a little girl of 10, who showed such remarkable ease in reading her lesson that I questioned the teacher carefully as to her illiteracy being bona fide. He said she had come to him two weeks before, unable to read a single character. But here she was on this night far ahead of the rest of the class.

"You see," she said, "in the daytime I tend a cow while it is grazing and I have nothing to do all day long. When I joined the school the teacher gave me this book to study and I took it along with me. One day, after I had learned a few lessons, an old gentleman stopped and asked me what I was reading. When he saw the book he became excited and sat down with me. Every day since he has come by and taught me more and more of the lessons. It is not that I am smarter than the rest of the class, but that I can, with this kind old gentleman's help, study all day as well as come here at night."

Truly history repeats itself in individual lives, for is there not in Chinese folklore a story of a little cowherd who became a great general because a kind old man taught him in the same manner that this little girl receives her daily instruction?

The way in which this movement to educate the masses of China has caught the imagination of the people is shown by the fact that it is not alone among the literati in the great centres of population but also in the rural communities and among all classes that the effort is spreading. This is no more interestingly illustrated than in the enthusiasm of the militarists to educate their men. A survey of the Manchurian Army of Chang Tso-lin, an un-

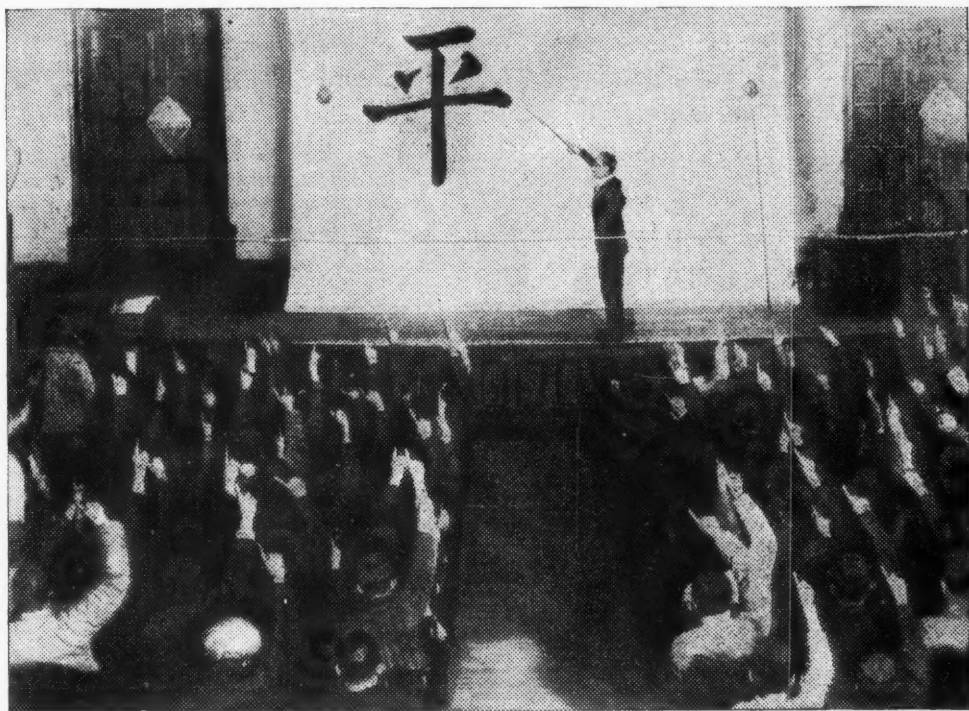
educated ex-bandit, showed that on the average only twenty-five men out of a company of 150 could read and write. Chang's son, therefore, commanded 300 officers to come in for normal training and bought 50,000 textbooks, together with 5,000 stereopticon slides, by means of which it has been proved that from 200 to 500 pupils can be as effectively taught as in the usual small classes. He has set to work and expects to finish the task within five years.

The records show that over 3,000,000 of the Thousand Character Textbooks have been sold. In addition, in every Province and almost every town unauthorized courses are printed concerning which it is impossible for the central organization to have accurate knowledge. These textbooks are not read once and thrown away, but are passed from hand to hand until entirely worn out.

How many pupils he has Yen does not know; all he can tell is that new schools are springing up daily in each of China's twenty-one Provinces. But he does know that every one wants to learn about the movement and every one wants to help. One day he speaks for two hours to the American College women of Peking; the next day he addresses the Rotary Club, which is so moved that, in addition to making a generous contribution from its treasury, it decides to assess each member for the support of the movement. After the meeting the President calls Yen aside and subscribes \$1,000. As the stranger walks through the streets of the cities he will see numerous signs hanging from the shops. These read, "People's Ask Character Station." They indicate that in this place some one has volunteered to help any learner who while studying comes upon characters that he does not recognize or whose meaning he does not understand.

THE NEW EDUCATION

Yen's plans for the education of his fellow-countryman do not stop when the student has completed his ninety-six hours of study. He has founded two newspapers, one for laborers and one for farmers, which discuss the meaning of citizenship in addition to vocational problems. Continuation schools have been started which



Teaching to read and write in China by showing ideographs on a screen. In this way classes of 250 and more have been taught

teach more than forty subjects, using textbooks on such subjects as letter writing, public health, mechanics, Chinese history, geography, Christ and the common people, folksongs and common knowledge. The thousand characters are used as a basis, but a hundred or so new words are added in each volume, until gradually quite a large vocabulary is built up.

Some cities have started scholarship funds. In Chefoo a number of the best students have been thus sent to the regular schools of the city. Reading clubs and graduates' societies have been organized, which keep up the interest of the students in their studies and provide fertile recruiting grounds for teachers. For every community effort such as health and citizenship campaigns the graduates' societies have proved themselves a nucleus for leaders. They are already a socializing force with which to reckon.

One evening after a meeting of our Peking Y. M. C. A. Boys' Work Committee, of which Yen is Chairman, he and I were discussing popular education. "Most movements since your revolution have been very fleeting," I said. "They have made a lot of noise for a little while, but nothing lasting has resulted. Is not mass education like all the rest, just another manifestation of that trait in the Chinese which your people call 'five minutes enthusiastic?'" Yen replied:

"This movement is different. It is already four years old and is growing from strength to strength. It is a movement by the people of the various communities, business men, students, gentry, every one working voluntarily for the common people. Mass education is a gigantic project in good citizenship and cooperation for the common good. Although the budget of the National Association is \$400,000 for the

current year, we have received no funds from the Government; all money comes through voluntary contributions. One can but imagine the stimulus which the regular schools receive to give a more adequate education when a community is turning out literates by the thousand each year. We are creating a whole new literature for the nation. Graduates from peoples' schools are turned out in great numbers. They require literature, and both the Young Men's Christian Association and commercial agencies are making large plans to publish books in the vernacular to meet this new demand. Old classical books are being rewritten by the hundreds. A people's literature is in the making.

Torn as she is by civil war the superficial may think the Chinese Republic is on the point of disintegration, but there is a vision of China as the land of the common man burned upon the brain of the younger statesmen, the students in the school, and even upon that of the coolie who pulls your ricksha, and this vision will never die until our object is attained. In mass education particularly China is united. There are our associations in Canton and in Wuchang; in Peking and in Manchuria; in the strongholds of Feng, and of his arch enemy, Chang Tso-lin. Where the militarists have failed, perhaps we, by a common effort for a common cause, may yet mold China into one united nation."



Herman Liu, a Ph. D. of Columbia, now head of the citizenship training movement in China, addressing students who are taking part in a parade

How Moving Pictures Are Produced

By MAYME OBER PEAK

Author and Journalist

A BILLION AND A HALF DOLLAR business in a decade and a half!

This is the financial record of the motion picture industry from the time it started in a Hollywood barn until now, when it operates huge mills with highly systematized departments headed by shrewd business men and has become the world's fourth greatest industry.

Fifteen years ago the Horsley Brothers from New Jersey established the first motion picture studio in a barn on Sunset Avenue, Hollywood, where later the Lasky studios were built. Their total capital was \$2,500. Today the capital producing 85 per cent. of the pictures made has 205 companies working in scientifically built laboratories with power plants sufficient to light a city. Among the big financial backers are the Morgan interests, the Kuhn, Loeb Company, the du Pont de Nemours fortune and William Randolph Hearst. Annual production costs amount to \$150,000,000; studio salaries to \$60,000,000. On the payroll are 235,000 permanent employees, besides thousands of "extras" used as "atmosphere."

Some 25,000 miles of film, including news reels depicting current events, are shown every day in the United States in 20,233 picture theatres. Ninety million persons average the weekly attendance. In 1925 American "movie fans" spent approximately \$1,000,000,000 in admission fees!

These movie devotees, entering the foyer of their favorite cinema palace, treading the thick carpet to their seats, lolling in soft leather chairs, listening to orchestra music, while on the silver sheet they view their own glorified image or forget themselves as they fall under the potent spell of "let's pretend," little dream of the magnitude of work involved in the making of even a poor movie. Beyond the range of the camera—that magic medium which transfers all the efforts of the various collaborators into the composite picture—they cannot see.

If they knew the moving picture industry from the inside they would agree with the writer that one day behind the screen is worth a hundred nights in front of it. For like the romance of its history, no motion picture ever made is as fascinating as its manufacture. The wheels within wheels that make the movies move involve a process unlike any other in the whole field of human endeavor, combining artistic, scientific, technical and business efficiency methods.

Camouflage and the cinema are no longer synonymous. Every detail of operation is carried on with scientific exactitude, but with the mantle of art always thrown over it. The strange necessities of the craft, the handicap of lack of time, and problems to be met that seldom arise in commercial life, have stimulated inventions of many kinds. In every department of the studios are found creators and craftsmen, artists and artisans.

To such an extent have the movie mills enlarged their staffs of experts and scope of work that they are fast outgrowing Hollywood and beginning to spread out at Culver City. To this new cinema city the writer went for a survey of one of the largest studios.

I made an early start, but not early enough to get around that world behind walls before dark. It was impossible to visit all the various countries represented on the studio lot of many acres, and inspect any of the forty-two different departments that whirl them in kaleidoscope review!

From making to marketing, the moves of the movie are fraught with interest, both from creative and mechanical standpoints. Personally conducted by a member of the Publicity Department, I began my trip where the first step is taken to set the wheels in motion—the Reading Department. Here a dozen University graduates are kept busy reading novels, stories and original manuscripts. Their comments and synopses are card indexed. If a story

looks interesting, it is passed on to the executives, and if by them found suitable for the screen, is assigned to a supervisor as his special production. The supervisor then turns it over to the Scenario Department for adaptation; that is, a dramatic outline visualizing the story as it could be enacted on the screen. As the censorship laws prohibit putting in pictures certain things that can be put in print, the psychology of stories is frequently butchered.

Scenario writing, I was informed, has nothing to do with literature. Said my guide: "It is an entirely separate department, involving clarity instead of eloquence. It is not a question of juggling words, but setting down in the clearest form possible what is to take place on the screen. In short, the scenario is the tool of the director, and not a masterpiece of style!" Never having seen a technically perfect script, I examined one placed in my hands with considerable interest. When told that the several hundred pages of neatly typed and bound manuscript had grown from less than five pages of adaptation, I handled it with added respect. I read as follows:

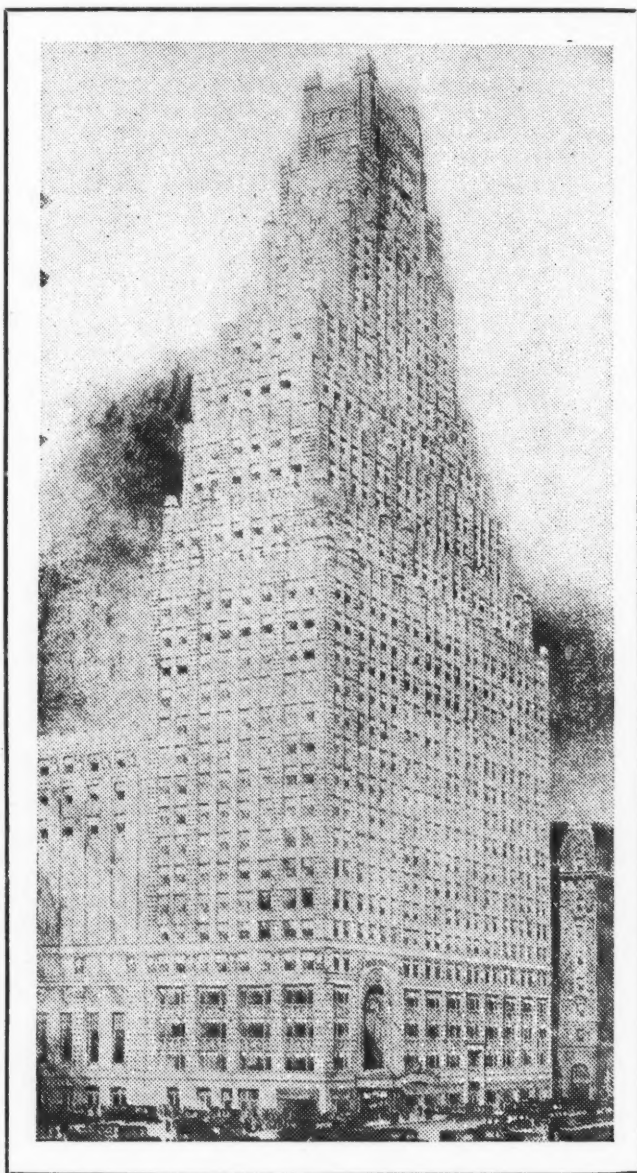
No. 178—Julie looks out of window, sees that train has stopped, starts to gather her possessions, preparing to leave.

No. 179—Train comes to stop.

No. 180—Julie starts down aisle on way out.

No. 181—Julie is met at rear end of train by conductor, who hands her receipt for ticket purchased by George.

It was all like this—a detailed, running fire of directions for every movement, every motion to be "shot."



Paramount Theatre Building, Broadway and Forty-third Street, New York City (C. W. & George L. Rapp, architects)—an indication of the vast capital invested in the moving picture industry

When the continuity has been O. K.'d by the executives after several rewrites to build it up dramatically, the third step is to turn it over to a director to prepare for actual production. While the director is thoroughly absorbing the story, visualizing each scene as he will take it and thinking

over his characters, copies of the script meanwhile are sent to all the departments that will have a hand in making the picture, including the production manager, casting director, studio art director, technical director and other creative heads.

The production manager's job is to tabulate the cast, outline each scene each actor will appear in, and have the sets prepared. When the actual "shooting" begins, he looks after the business details and keeps the director up to his schedule. If the script calls for "locations" outside the studio lot, he consults with the location manager. The latter runs through his files, containing pictures and descriptions of everything from a potter's field to a plutocratic country estate, a ranch to a railroad station, a beach to a busy dock.

The set designer is an architect with a large staff of assistant architects and draftsmen. While striving for effects of beauty and adhering strictly to architectural correctness and building charac-

terization, the designer has to remember always the practical necessities in making pictures. So must the art designer, who also draws on the skill of the best artists and sculptors. The writer watched the slender fingers of a sculptress modeling clay motifs for a decorative front of a balcony in a German theatre. She told me that each motif required hours to complete, while the scene in which the balcony will appear will probably flash across the screen in a few seconds! After the sets are architecturally perfect, they go to the paint shop. Here everything is accomplished in a magical amount of time, from whitewashing a barn to painting weather-beaten plaster cracks on a castle wall that must look five hundred years old.

"Dressing" the sets is the next step. The "set dressers" include interior decorators, drapery and property men. All the required properties are obtained from the property warehouse, a veritable department store which keeps buyers in New



Roxy Theatre, Fiftieth Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City (Walter W. Ahischlager, architect)—the latest of the great buildings erected to supply the public demand for moving pictures as entertainment

York and Europe the year round. Everything conceivable from a Chinese marriage license to a king's throne is found here. A hovel or a palace can be completely outfitted at a moment's notice. One surveys floor after floor, containing china, groceries, antique and modern furniture, bolts of calico and gold cloth, tapestries from the Old World, and draperies woven and dyed in the large pressing and dye rooms; velvets and cretonnes, every kind of pre-war bottle used in bars, foreign-made telephones, slot machines, all sorts of old "junk," as well as stage coaches and modern motors.

As each scene is "shot" the number corresponding with that in the scenario or script is chalked on a slate and held up before the camera to be photographed, so that the scenes may be assembled in chronological order later in the cutting room. Continuity is the foundation of the script, but no film is shot in the sequence in which it is written or shown on the screen. All the scenes falling on one location are taken in any sequence the director finds advisable until that location, or set, is disposed of. The final footage of a photoplay may have been the first shot. This is done with an eye to time and money, in both of which the director is limited. If a picture calls for large mob scenes, for example, it would cost too dearly to keep a few thousand extras waiting around at \$5 a day!

Scenes are rehearsed over and over again before the camera begins to click. Sometimes a whole day is devoted to "takes" of one scene, only to be retaken later. The patience of the director is a virtue indeed. There may be murder in his heart and beads of perspiration on his brow, but the voice that comes through the megaphone pleading with would-be Glorias or Rudolphos to register more "real" emotion is confidence-inspiring.

Screen actors are the creatures of the director, dancing to his piping. With the exception of the stars and principals, they know nothing of the story or its sequence. As one aspirant for film fame put it to the writer: "On the stage you know your part and express yourself. On the screen you do what the director tells you!"

Upon the director, therefore, depends

the interpretation of the story—"getting over" the psychology of the characters. He can spoil a good story or make a good picture out of a bad story. To aid him in providing the proper emotional atmosphere, musicians are always on the set to play sad or jolly music. It may come from a jazz orchestra, a single violin or a movable hand-organ. "Music!" "Action!" "Camera!" calls the director for each scene.

Connected with the Property Warehouse is the "prop" shop, where are made the small "props," such as wooden shoes, studied headgear, imitation fruit, flowers and vegetables, papier mâché trees with giant trunks, and also all the tricks of the movies invented by the "gag" men to create laughable situations. The latter include "fall-away" elephants, candy window panes through which the actor can plunge without being cut, collapsible furniture that can be broken over heads, monster beams that can fall on a man without injury.

While all this preparation is going on the director and casting director have their heads together, choosing from available material those best fitted to play the rôles. If the story is what is called a "star story," written especially to play up some star, the cast is more quickly decided upon than if it is a feature story or a "super-special" requiring spectacular treatment. Screen tests are taken of the actors in their costumes, both before they are definitely assigned and after.

ELABORATE COSTUME FACILITIES

As important as dressing the sets is dressing the part. On the theory that the leading lady's guests would present an embarrassing contrast if not properly attired, and fully aware that the average extra is financially unable to provide the sartorial scenery, the studio spends lavishly on its wardrobe department. While the sets are being dressed the wheels begin spinning in this department, presided over by a lifelong student of fashions and faces and assisted by a staff of fifty designers, milliners, dressmakers, fitters, tailors, wigmakers, hairdressers and jewelers. A star's wardrobe, always new for each picture, if at all elaborate, requires several weeks to design and make. As many as a hundred

dresses for principals and cast can be turned out in a week, however, and from the ready-made stock on hand a thousand a day can be dressed.

For period pictures there are costumes running the gamut of centuries. Dresses, from the voluminous hoopskirts flounced with lace to the sleek models of today; fetching frocks by famous French designers and dresses with the stamp of the village seamstress; evening gowns and wraps for "vamps" and ingénues; enchanting negligées, the daintiest of silk lingerie, hand-painted kimonos and the old-time wrapper. There is a special children's department and one for men's wear; also a cedar-lined room containing a fortune in furs. In this storage room the writer saw lengthy trains made of ermine, edged with real lace. In another room there were huge chests of drawers filled with pearl and rhinestone necklaces, tiaras, jewelry of every kind and description, buckles, bracelets, gorgeous feather fans, handbags, bridal veils, wonderfully embroidered shawls and fragile lace scarfs.

Needless to say, there is more "human interest" in this department, with its Cinderella-like transformations, than in all the other departments put together. But here, too, artistry and imagination adapt themselves to accuracy with the help of the research department, which has access to priceless collections of old prints and books to study the modes of almost forgotten periods, as well as to the latest authorities on fashion's fads. An all-woman staff maintains a library service, with all the big American and foreign papers and magazines, and is in touch by cable with world libraries.

Questions are put to this research department from what sort of hooks and eyes the Puritan women wore on their dresses to the kind of foppish fad a Beau Brummell of the sixteenth century might adopt. After perusing a number of historical romances, the latter question was answered by "plumes in his boot tops"!

While the background is being made as accurate in every detail as possible, the director appoints his camera man, or men. If the picture is a big super-special, as many as fifty camera men and double as many assistants are required. The head

camera man, who in turn names his own staff of assistants, including photographers, electricians and "grips" (ex-stage hands), inspects the sets, decides on the number and power of Kleig lights and calls on the electrical department for the prescribed equipment. When "shooting" begins there is also a photographer on duty to get "stills" for the still department for publicity and display purposes.

The camera man, who makes or mars the picture, is one of the highly paid studio staff. He is both a creative artist whose lens depicts high lights and delicate shadings and a magician with a bag of tricks. To his craftsmanship is due the elusive charm of make-believe, which must be preserved in spite of mechanical perfection. Actors falling out of tenth story windows or hurtling over cliffs in automobiles or riding on magic carpets are a tribute to the camera man's skill.

"SHOOTING THE SCENES"

When the stage is set actual production is ready to begin. The cast, in make-up and costume, supervised by make-up experts and hair dressers, are required to be on the set at 8:30 A. M. and to stay until dismissed, frequently late into the night. When the director starts "shooting" scenes his assistant director and script clerk are constantly at his elbow. With scenario in hand the script clerk (always a woman, because of the feminine aptitude for detail) takes down in shorthand everything that occurs. She describes how the sets and actors are dressed, whether a man goes out of a door with his overcoat over his left arm or his right, and so on ad infinitum. When transcribed her notes go to the cutting-room.

At the end of each day, the output of the camera goes to the laboratory for development. Next to the power plants with their stationary and portable motor generator sets, Liberty engines and power wagons, comes the laboratory in its expensive equipment and the important part it plays in the success of the pictures. Here are stored carloads of chemicals and large quantities of silver with which to coat the films. Here an army of laboratory assistants complete the work of the camera man—accentuating the good points and

cleverly conspiring to rub out the bad ones.

In the projection rooms, miniature picture theatres found on each studio lot, gather the director, stars and cutters, at the close of the day's work to view the "Rushes," scenes of the day before rushed out, so that any errors in acting, costuming or lighting can be immediately rectified. The best of the good scenes are selected, the rest are filed away in the library, another interesting department of the studio, where character tests are filed and many of the most famous screen artists will be preserved for posterity.

THE FINAL STAGES

With the completion of the photography come two of the most important operations—the cutting or editing, and the titling. The average film must be reduced to the least possible amount necessary to carry over its meaning in the shortest duration of time. The cutter, or film editor, sometimes takes out whole scenes. A mere flash may tell as much as if it ran minutes. Watching the ribbon film—no bigger than a postage stamp—run through the moviola (the cutter's microscopic projector) one gets an idea of how many motions the actor makes to keep the movie moving!

When the picture has been cut down to the satisfaction of the director, then the title writer (one of the highest paid of the studio staff) gets to work. Unlike the continuity writer, he or she must combine showmanship with literary ability. Principal characters must be introduced with subtitles which, in a few words, tell their whole meaning. And when they speak dialogue it must be brilliant, always entertaining, and tell a salient point in the play. As one noted title writer, whose salary equals that of President Coolidge, puts it: "Titles must be written as if the title writer were a poor man sending a telegram!" When finally approved, the titles go to the Art Department, where they are lettered on cards, photographed and filmed—two feet to each word in the title. The cutter places them between the scenes where they belong. Then the executives assemble in one of the projection rooms, view the picture, confer over it, order any "retakes" desired or changes for its betterment.

When the running negative of the play as finally approved is completed positives are developed, and, like California olives, are canned in airtight cans—one reel of 100 feet to each can. These are distributed through the New York sales department, which keeps salesmen on the road like any other manufactory.

No completed picture is put on the market, however, before it is "previewed" in some little, out-of-the-way Hollywood theatre. Just as the big shows are tried out first on the small towns, so is the motion picture tried out in the movie capital before being shown in world capitals. The première of a picture here can be likened to a first night at the opera. The stars and their especially invited guests appear in elaborate evening attire and are photographed as they step from their motors into a veritable mob awaiting a glimpse. But at the "preview" the stars drive up when no one is looking and slip quietly into back seats to watch the reaction of the audience.

Cards are passed around on which spectators are asked to write their "review." "It is amazing how much attention the executives pay to their opinions," my guide informed me. "If the reaction is unpleasant sometimes a whole picture is discarded. Frequently suggested changes are made."

All during the picture making the publicity department has been preparing publicity material for selling the film, as well as feature copy for the newspapers. When a company is cast for a picture a publicity man is assigned to cover it, reporting daily everything that happens of interest on the set. All the staff are former newspaper writers. In fact, the publicity department is run like a well-organized city paper.

It is a "world beat" they have to cover, not all make-believe. In the studio hospital a baby was born recently. People die and sustain permanent injuries while performing dangerous stunts to make us laugh. Old age sits waiting in the casting office, as well as youth. Titled foreigners beg for an opportunity to do "bits." Stage favorites of a decade back are playing obscure parts in order to eat, while former shopgirls are somersaulting to fame.

The moving drama of "reel" life is but the throbbing drama of real life.

Prohibition Movement in Germany

By ADOLPH E. MEYER

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THAT prohibition is knocking at the gates of Germany is a matter not generally realized by the average American. Yet Germany stands today on the threshold of a wet and dry struggle similar in many respects to the campaign once waged in the United States; and most of the familiar arguments for or against prohibition invented and used in this country are now being vigorously put forth by the Germans. Many Americans will be inclined to scoff at the idea of a dry Germany, for both in fact and in fiction the average German has always been traditionally associated with his wine and beer. The intense legislative debates that recently took place on Germany's alcohol problem, however, marked a stage in the development of an issue that was first raised many years ago. Although the Reichstag Budget Committee was able to defeat a local option law, it was by a margin of only four votes out of a total of twenty-eight cast.

In considering Germany's wet and dry problem one ought to bear in mind two German characteristics—love of theory and abstraction and general apathy toward things political. The German's penchant for theory has led him to consider the social aspects of the alcohol problem in all its various phases. For almost a century he has been studying the problem and publishing the results of his findings in innumerable volumes. Many temperance societies have always existed in Germany, varying in their aims from a bone-dry program to the moderate use of light wines and beer. The influence of the more tolerant attitude has of late years become increasingly strong. Yet, in spite of all this theorizing, disseminated throughout the country in millions of pamphlets, the German has been more or less reluctant to comprehend the political implications of the wet and dry question. Spasmodic attempts have been made in the past to interest legislators in the issue, but until very recently such efforts have always been half-hearted and certain of failure.

With eventual rather than immediate success in mind, the German prohibitionists have for many years been utilizing the schools as a fertile field for their propaganda. There the task of the dry advocate has been made somewhat easy by the acquiescence of those non-partisan educators who see in the schools an appropriate place for the discussion of the problem. One result has been the coming into existence of an astonishingly large number of teachers' temperance societies, which not only impose some form of temperance upon the teachers but also seek to use the schools as a means of establishing some kind of national prohibition. Teachers belonging to temperance societies are required to be active propagandists both within and without the schools. In the gymnasiums, the various higher schools and the universities there are also students' temperance societies. Furthermore, about half the adherents of the German Youth Movement, or in round numbers about one million members, are in a general way pledged to temperance.

As in America, the various political parties in Germany are extremely reluctant to adopt a specific stand on prohibition. The majority of them, with an exception here and there, are convinced, however, that absolute prohibition such as is the law in America would be impracticable in Germany. Moderation rather than absolute prohibition seems to be the desideratum. The German's objection to the bone-dry program is due in no small way to his respect for law. He hesitates to enact a drastic prohibition law since experience seems to show that such legislation is most difficult to enforce in any thoroughgoing manner.

The most determined supporters of the dry program are the Socialist and Communist parties. The Nationalists, following their traditional conservatism, are in opposition, though they have not yet adopted a party plank against prohibition. The Socialists seem to be the only political

group acting as a party on the question, for they have always been strongly in favor of legislation intended to control and curb the use of alcoholic beverages. The Socialist believes that the economic dependence of the laborer arises to a large extent from the misuse of alcohol. Speaking in the Reichstag recently Representative Dietrich, a Democrat from Baden, stated that his party was in the same predicament as the Nationalists. "Opinions differ," he said, "yet an overwhelming majority is opposed to prohibition." Representative Andre, a member of the Centre, declared himself in opposition to any partisan consideration of the problem. Like the Democrats, the Centrists have not yet defined their position. Although opposed to absolute prohibition, the Centre is inclined to favor legislation regulating the use of alcohol. Some members of the Centre have pointed out, however, that during the past years alcoholism has decreased in Germany and that this has been accomplished by the free will of the individual rather than by governmental coercion.

When the Reichstag Budget Committee recently defeated the proposed local option law two women Deputies of the Catholic Centrist and Democratic parties voted with the Socialists and Communists. German women have always been more or less in favor of some form of prohibition. Since their enfranchisement they have become what is probably the most powerful political force in favor of a dry Germany, and to realize their hopes they are employing all the traditional tricks and tactics used by their sisters in the United States. They make speeches and write books and articles. They belong to anti-drink societies. More and more they are lending their active as well as moral support to every movement in favor of national temperance. Finally, but probably most important of all, they are using the ballot as an effective means of achieving their goal. With the women enfranchised, prohibition in Germany becomes a possibility.

The most comprehensive temperance program outlined in Germany is that set forth by the *Verein gegen den Misbrauch geistiger Getränke* (Society opposed to the Misuse of Alcoholic Beverages), which seeks reform in the present methods of

licensing the sale of alcoholic drinks and in liquor taxation; the more serious punishment for drunkenness and the establishment of places for the sale of non-alcoholic drinks. Briefly, this is also the program of those favoring moderation rather than complete prohibition.

AMERICA AS EXAMPLE

Prohibition in America is often referred to by both the wets and the drys in Germany. The latter, like the drys in the United States, see in prohibition a tremendous success. The German prohibitionist makes much of America's economic supremacy, considering it to be largely the result of prohibition. In reply, the German wet points to our bootlegging, our political corruption and the demoralization of our American youth, and holds up the horrible spectre of a weak-willed and vacillating America enacting an impossible law which it is powerless to enforce. Most of the pronouncements of the German drys as well as of their opponents are based upon partisanship rather than upon a dispassionate study of actual American conditions, for the material quoted is usually chosen to illustrate only one side of the problem.

Another factor in the prohibition controversy in Germany is the Dawes plan, of which one of the provisions pledges German liquor taxes as security for reparation payments. The German prohibitionist argues—somewhat fallaciously, it is true—that since every drink in just that much money in the pockets of the "enemy" abstinence from drink becomes a patriotic duty toward the Fatherland. But as the German wet points out, in the absence of liquor taxes some other kind of tax would have to be pledged as security.

Large sums of money are being spent by both sides in this battle for and against prohibition. The German drys have somewhat of an advantage over their American brethren in that they receive financial assistance from the Government. From the proceeds of its alcohol monopoly the German Government has set aside nearly two million marks in the national budget to be used in the nation's fight against the misuse of alcohol, and nearly half of that sum is given to temperance societies for what is popularly known as "welfare" work.

During the war Germany was compelled to curtail the production of alcoholic beverages. This governmental regulation, together with the prohibitive price of available drinks, constituted the first victory of the dries. So far it has been their only victory, and even this gain has in time been dissolved in defeat. More than ten years after the outbreak of the war the consumption of wine and beer in Germany, though not actually as large as in 1913, is nevertheless increasing. The fact that such consumption is not actually as large as a decade ago is used by the wets to argue that Germany is growing temperate and has therefore no need of dry legislation. The dries, on the other hand, point out that during the last ten years alcoholic consumption in Germany was lowest when economic difficulties were the greatest, and that with the nation's reviving economic prosperity the liquor problem again looms large. From the outset of the war the dries have been waging their campaign with increasing intensity. Unsuccessful attempts have been made to secure governmental control of what corresponds to the former American saloon, while demands for reform in the granting of licenses and concessions have resulted in little more than surveys and investigations.

LOCAL OPTION FIGHT

The most vigorous fight so far has been on the question of local option, the first skirmish having taken place in 1923. By arranging straw votes in selected communities the dries were able to point to an overwhelming sentiment in favor of a local option measure. But the wets were not slow to see the value of straw votes, and, instead of wasting time in trying to refute the figures obtained by the dries, arranged straw votes in places selected by themselves. Thus, the anti-prohibition party was soon able to show to an astonished Germany that there was also an overwhelming majority opposed to local option. During the same year a bill for local option was introduced in the Reichstag, but owing to the dissolution of that body in 1924 no decision was reached. When the new Reichstag met, the Socialists immediately introduced a resolution calling upon the Government to resubmit the local

option measure. Adopted in committee, this resolution was, however, rejected early in 1925 by the Reichstag as a whole. The startling growth of the prohibition sentiment was clearly shown by the close vote of 200 to 168. Again introduced, the resolution was once more adopted in committee. This time, after a hard struggle, the Reichstag voted 191 to 164 to return the measure to the committee for further deliberation. During this time a similar measure was introduced in the Prussian Diet, but there, too, it was defeated.

The most recent and also the most intense struggle over local option in the Budget Committee of the Reichstag was again a defeat for the dries, but by only a narrow margin. Two outstanding reasons for the defeat of the measure were, first, the general belief that local option would seriously impede the functioning of a highly centralized Government such as that of Germany, and, second, the equally prevalent idea that local option would tend to interfere with a large and established industry and thus tend to aggravate unnecessarily the serious problem of unemployment. Although the committee recorded itself in opposition to local option, it nevertheless recommended that the Government should investigate the "saloon" system as well as the matter of governmental concessions. Moreover, it suggested that some legislation should be passed to deal with alcoholism. On May 11, 1926, the Reichstag again rejected a local option bill, this time by a vote of 241 to 163. An analysis of the vote showed that the Socialists and Communists gave the measure practically their united party support.

The defeat of local option has generally been accepted with satisfaction by the public as well as by their party representatives—with the exception, of course, of the radicals. On the other hand, the fact that within ten days after the Reichstag rejected the dry measure a petition of more than two million signatures of alleged dries was presented to the national legislature seems to be ominous of future struggles. However, this petition must not be taken too seriously since the greater part of the signatories seem to come from the Rhineland, one section of Germany which is notoriously opposed to the dries.

Afghanistan Under a Modern Ruler

By VASUDEO B. METTA

Indian Barrister and Author

AFGHANISTAN has been the gateway to India for thousands of years. All sorts of conquerors—Alexander the Great, the Scythians, Huns, Persians, Mongols, Tamerlane, Nadir Shah—passed through it in order to reach the rich and renowned plains of India. And yet, in spite of this, Afghanistan has remained a sealed book to the world. It is still a land of mystery, as Arabia and Tibet were until recently.

But though Afghanistan is an ancient country, the Afghan Nation cannot be called very old. Its heterogeneous and shifting populations made the attainment of national consciousness difficult. Besides, its boundaries have changed every now and then. Kandahar was once a part of India. The Afghan Turkestan was included in the kingdom of the Emirs of Bokhara. Badakshan was Persian. In fact, the Afghan Nation cannot be said to have been born until Ahmed Shah, an adventurer of the Durani tribe, in the middle of the eighteenth century carved out the present kingdom of Afghanistan from the empire of Nadir Shah, after that conqueror's death.

Afghanistan has had three wars with the British in India—the first in 1841, the second in 1879 and the third in 1919. In 1921, a "Treaty of Friendly Relations with England" was signed, and by that treaty the full independence of Afghanistan was recognized. Until then, Afghanistan accepted a subsidy from the British Indian Government, and was not allowed to conclude treaties with any other country; nor had she the right to be represented at any foreign court. But since the treaty of 1921 Afghanistan has sent ministers to London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Moscow, Anğora and Teheran. She wanted to send a minister to Washington also, but for some reason President Harding did not countenance the idea, and so the matter had to be dropped.

Of the many tribes of which the Afghan Nation is composed the Duranis are the principal and dominant one. The Duranis

call themselves Bene-Israels, and claim to be descended from one of the Jewish tribes which Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive with him from Palestine to Media. Besides the Duranis, there are the Tajiks, the Ghilzais and the Kafirs. The majority of Afghans are Sunni Mohammedans, like the Turks and Arabs, but the Kafirs believe in a religion which is a strange admixture of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and the ancient Greek religion. They are big, strong men, these Afghans; in fact, they are so strong that an English soldier with whom I was once talking in India and who had fought against them, said: "One Afghan is equal to four English soldiers." They are so conceited that they consider themselves the greatest people on earth. The standing army of Afghanistan is about 100,000 strong; but, if necessary, the Amir can put as many as 1,000,000 men (out of a population of 5,000,000 souls) in the field.

The Afghans are a fanatical people. They have a violent hatred for all non-Mohammedans and especially for the Western peoples. They are ready to cut off an "infidel's" head on the slightest pretext, because they believe that by so doing they will go to Paradise. There is also a secular reason for their hatred of Europeans: they are afraid of being conquered by them.

The Afghans are first-class agriculturists. They grow very good fruit, and as practical irrigationists they are on a par with the Chinese, who are acknowledged to be the finest irrigationists in the East. Their exports consist chiefly of sheepskin clothes, dried fruit, silk, wool, carpets, madder and asafoetida. Of telegraphs, telephones, electric light, banks, production on a large scale by modern machinery, they know practically nothing.

The Afghans are an adventurous people. They go as hawkers and merchants to India, Persia, South Africa, and even to far Australia, and do well wherever they go. This shows that if given modern education they might become a good business people.

Their country is not wholly without resources. Considering that there are such large oil fields in Persia, Mesopotamia and Baluchistan, it is probable that there is oil in Afghanistan, but that oil has not yet been located. There is gold in the rivers, iron ore, coal, copper, lead, sulphur, antimony, gypsum and silver mines in the country.

Amanullah Khan, the present Amir of Afghanistan, ascended the throne in 1919. His path to kingship was by no means smooth. Immediately after his accession, his father, the late Amir Habibullah Khan, was assassinated on the ground that he had been overfriendly to the British. Nasrullah Khan, brother of the murdered Amir, then tried to seize the throne. Nasrullah Khan was supported by two of his nephews, elder brothers of the present Amir. But Amanullah Khan, through quickness of decision and movement, won the day. His elder brothers have submitted to him and are not molested in any way. Of the Amir's uncle, Nasrullah Khan, nothing, however, is known. No one can say whether he is dead or whether he has fled to a foreign country. The fate of many Afghans is never known.

Immediately after he ascended the throne, the Amir declared war against the British in India. Nobody knows who won that war. The British claim that they won it, while the Afghans are equally certain that they were the victors. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the Afghans more or less dictated the terms of the treaty to the British, and that by that treaty they became a really sovereign people.

Amanullah Khan is an ambitious man. He has two objects in view: to become the Caliph or religious head of all the Sunni Mohammedans in the world, and to modernize his country. Since the downfall and expulsion of the House of Osman from Turkey and the abolition of the Turkish Caliphate, the Amir of Afghanistan is—with the exception of Ibn Saud of Nejd—the only really independent sovereign left in the world. Disregarding Ali, ex-King of the Hedjaz (ousted by Ibn Saud), King Fuad of Egypt, the other claimant to the title of "Caliph," cannot be called independent, as he is more or less under the thumb of the British. As an independent

ruler, the Amir is justified in aspiring to the Caliphate. But there is one fact that is likely to hinder his being acknowledged as the Caliph, and that is that he is not, as a Caliph should be, the master of Mecca and Medina, the two sacred cities of Islam. And there is also the question whether the Mohammedan world wants a Caliph now.

AMIR'S RECORD AS REFORMER

The Amir has already taken many steps to realize his second object, viz., to modernize his country. He has taken Japan as his model, and like the late Mikado, Mitsu Hito, he is introducing all sorts of reforms in his country. But his task is much more difficult than that of the late Emperor of Japan, because, unlike the Japanese, the Afghans are against all innovations. Twice during the last three years there were risings of the Mullahs, but, fortunately, the Amir succeeded in quelling both these revolts. The Afghan ruler's task is also more difficult because he cannot build railways in his kingdom; for if railways are built in Afghanistan, it would make it easier for the British or Russians to conquer the country.

But in spite of the many difficulties that lie in the way of his onward march, the Amir is rapidly progressing. He has employed a large number of Turks to bring Afghanistan into line with Western countries; the Afghan army is trained by Turkish officers. The Turks are also put in charge of the Finance Department. But though the Amir prefers Turks, who as Mohammedans are more agreeable to his people as introducers of Western civilization, it must not be supposed that he employs no Western peoples. There are some American and German experts appointed to guide the industrial and commercial activity of the country. No British or Russians are employed, because the Amir is afraid of both Great Britain and Russia. Non-official Western peoples are also taking part in the development of Afghanistan. A German firm called "Shirkat-i-Alman" (The German Cooperative Company) has recently secured monopoly of the whole export and import trade of the country. Another German firm has applied for the monopoly of valuable minerals in Afghanistan, and the application is being considered by the Amir. French archaeologists

under M. A. Foucher have obtained a thirty-year monopoly for excavating the remains of the Greco-Bactrian civilization in the country.

The Amir is a strong protectionist. With the exception of the Koran and other religious books, also war material, there is a heavy duty on all imports into the kingdom. Powders, cosmetics, collars and handkerchiefs are charged 100 per cent. duty. Afghan trade agents have been appointed at Peshawar, Parachinar and Quetta. There are trade agents attached to the Afghan legations in Europe and Asia to study the possibility of developing Afghan trade. Commercial treaties have also been concluded with Turkey and Persia.

The Government of Afghanistan has been considerably improved. The Amir sees that no tyranny is practiced in any of the five provinces into which his kingdom is divided—Kabul, Kandahar, Afghan Turkestan, Herat and Badakshan—which are ruled each by a Governor. He has created a Khilwat (cabinet) which is composed of Sirdars (hereditary noblemen) and Khans (representatives of the people). He has also created two assemblies, the Durbar Shahi (the Senate) and the Kharwanin Mulkhi (Congress). Justice is administered by the Kazi (the District Judge) and under the Kazi comes the Kotval (Magistrate). The Amir himself is the Supreme Court of Appeal. Amanullah Khan, like Oriental monarchs of old, has also set apart a day in the week on which the humblest of his subjects can approach him and pour their grievances into his ears.

The revenue of Afghanistan is about \$5,000,000 per year. It is derived from taxation on land, houses, export and import duties and grazing rights. But this revenue is not sufficient to meet the Government expenditure, which is increasing by leaps and bounds as reforms are being introduced into the country. Many new departments have been created and new schools, including a girls' school and the Kabul University, have been established. The Amir sends large batches of students every year to foreign countries, especially to France and Germany, for education. Many new roads have been built. A strictly censored press has sprung up. Munitions factories are being established all over the country.

The Amir Amanullah Khan is a powerfully built man of medium height, with a vivacious temperament, plenty of humor and a very good knowledge of human character. He is something of a linguist, because, besides Pushtu (the people's language) and Persian (the court language), he speaks English and French. He dresses in a half Oriental and half Western style; but he takes good care that the cloth from which his garments are made is manufactured in Afghanistan. His palaces and their appointments, like the styles of his attire, are half Eastern and half Western. And he is no sluggard. He works hard—as much as twelve hours a day. It is said that he is planning to build another city to take the place of Kabul as the capital of his kingdom.



New Phase of War Guilt Controversy

By M. HERMOND COCHRAN*

THE controversy over the origin of the World War has passed through three distinct phases and is now entering a fourth. Most of the arguments used in the controversy were current in Europe before 1914; then, during the years from 1914 to 1919, these arguments were twisted out of all semblance to historical reality by the passions of war; finally, as a result of the disclosure of the facts, the chaotic mass of conflicting arguments has been straightened out in eight years of exhaustive investigation. Now we are about to enter upon a new phase. The historian will henceforth be able to approach the problem in a scientific spirit, free from the baleful influence of war hysteria, national prejudice and the blame-complex. A review of the development of the controversy up to the present time is the best means of determining what course the dispute is likely to take in the future.

The most striking feature of the controversy when it is thus reviewed is that the arguments of both sides were formulated long before 1914. Each side had an elaborate set of reasons why the other would start an armed conflict. The purpose of this reasoning lay partly in the desire to stimulate the movement for military preparedness and partly in the idea of making the men fight harder because of the belief that their country was being wantonly attacked. The only thing added to the conflicting theories after 1914 was a carefully selected list of facts chosen for their value in proving the pre-war arguments correct. Let us examine the pre-war arguments first.

On the side of the Allies, of the Triple Entente, the pre-war brief was drawn up primarily against Germany, though the different nations emphasized different points. In France, fear of a German in-

vasion really dates from 1866, when Prussia overthrew Austria. After the war of 1870-1871, which stamped this fear indelibly on the French mind, apprehension was increased by the German threats during the war scares of 1875 and 1887. As the German population, and hence the German army, increased, the French worried lest they soon be unable to cope with the expected attack. German militarism, as exemplified by Bismarck, Moltke and William II, was to them the great source of anxiety. French civilization, the flower of centuries now nurtured on democratic institutions, would be overthrown by cruel German war lords—an argument sufficiently potent to bring French Socialists into the field as one man.

To the French mind the lawless German barbarians—*les boches*—driven by the Pan-German plan to conquer Europe for the Germanic races as they had conquered Alsace-Lorraine, would be the aggressors. Through superiority of numbers they would be able to seize Northern France, every inch of which was sacred soil. Before 1912 France thought only of a direct German attack, but after the Balkan crisis of 1912-1913 she was ready to see in any shift of Balkan power to Austria-Hungary an intolerable increase in the strength of an already over-powerful enemy. Then, in 1914, the Austrian attack on Serbia, the German declaration of war and the terrifying flank attack through Belgium seemed to confirm her worst fears.

In England Germany was feared not so much as an invader as a world-conqueror. German colonial ambitions, the development of a large merchant marine and of a formidable navy, as well as the militaristic character of the German Government constituted a menace, in the English mind, from the 1890s on. The English people were taught the danger to their empire inherent in German attempts to acquire part of Morocco (1905, 1911), to penetrate to India by means of the Bagdad Railway, and to secure naval stations for their dan-

*Based on intensive study in Europe of World War origins, one aspect of which the author treated in his thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University.

gerous fleets in all parts of the globe. Certain injudicious speeches of William II as well as the wild effusions of the Pan-Germans were used with great effect by the pre-war agitators. But in general anti-German agitation was not so widespread in Great Britain as in France or in Russia; the shock of the invasion of Belgium was needed to bring out the characteristic British argument that Germany's undemocratic Government had fallen into the hands of the militarists.

In Russia, on the other hand, Germany was thought of as the driving force behind Austria-Hungary in aggressive schemes in the Near East. An inevitable racial conflict between the Slavic and Germanic nations, with control of the Near East as the prize, was the formula preached by Katkov in the 1880s, partly because of Russian disillusionment at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and partly because of ideas of Slavic racial superiority. Pan-Slavism, including the plan for domination over Germany and Austria-Hungary and for the liberation of the numerous minor Slavic peoples from their control, had much greater influence in Russia than Pan-Germanism ever achieved in Germany.

In the official arguments, as worked out between 1906 and 1914, Germany was supporting Austria-Hungary in measures designed to suppress the Slavs in the Dual Monarchy and also reaching out for the control of moribund Turkey through the Bagdad Railway scheme. Since the success of these plans would prevent Russia from obtaining Constantinople and the Straits, which were indispensable to her if she was to be a great Power, Germany was considered the chief enemy. In 1908, when Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and received the approval of Germany, Russia was not ready to take up the challenge; but then and there the Russian leaders, particularly Izvolsky, determined to be strong enough to meet the next Germanic offensive. The Austrian attack on Serbia seemed to them to be that offensive.

It will be noted that the central feature of these Entente arguments was that they all pointed to Germany as the villain. Political, racial and economic reasons for

German aggression were advanced, whereas Austria-Hungary was thought of as the unimportant passive partner in German schemes.

THE CASE FOR THE CENTRAL POWERS

The German arguments, however, were not centred; they were based on the supposedly aggressive designs of the three Entente Powers that "encircled" Germany with an "iron ring."

Against France the Germans began to pile up arguments in 1871. Bismarck, whose words were taken as gospel in Germany, declared that France would never forget the lost provinces, but would make war for "*revanche*" the moment she recovered her strength. The French "flirtation" with Russia in 1875, the Boulanger and Dreyfus episodes, the Franco-Russian alliance and the constant efforts to keep the French army as large as the German—all these things were interpreted as evidence that France was preparing for attack.

In the German view, France was at the mercy of a group of excitable politicians who might be rushed off their feet by the feverish Parisians, particularly if hope of foreign aid and confidence in their reorganized army made them reckless. By 1911 all these conditions had become realities. Russia and Great Britain were supporting France and the army was ready. Germany expected the attack at any moment. The axiomatic character of that expectation forms the underlying cause of the present tendency to blame Poincaré for the outbreak of the war.

In regard to Russia, German fears fluctuated with Russian foreign policy. When Russia was heavily engaged in the Far East, as she was from 1895 to 1905, Germany breathed more easily; but when Russia turned her attention to the Near East, in the years from 1905 to 1914, Germany feared that Russia would use force to destroy Austria-Hungary and seize the Straits. The fact that England had joined Russia and France meant that there would be no barrier to Russian expansion except the Germanic Powers. In German histories Russia is always pictured as a barbaric nation, destined to overwhelm Europe by

sheer weight of numbers. The Germanic Powers assume the rôle of the defenders of Europe against Slavic barbarism; even the Socialists of Germany were willing to fight for this mission.

Since Bismarck had proclaimed in 1879 that Germany would never allow Russia to overwhelm Austria-Hungary, and since the last mentioned Power had become the sole ally in a world of enemies, Germany felt that she must support her at all costs. Accordingly, as the Germans put it, the Russian slogan "The road to Constantinople goes through Vienna" had become "The road to Constantinople goes through Berlin." In the years before the war the Germans became panic-stricken; the colossal increases in the Russian army, the repeated trial mobilizations on the German border, and the frankly hostile statements of Pan-Slav leaders convinced them that the Russians were preparing for a decisive onslaught. Russian mobilization and the consequent attack were to be the signal for the beginning of hostilities. That was then, and still is, the official German version of the outbreak of the war.

The German case against Great Britain took a different course. When Germany had developed a great merchant marine, carrying a foreign trade that rivaled Britain's, she feared that she had aroused envy in England. Chancellor von Bülow considered his greatest achievement the creation of a navy to protect that commerce in spite of British opposition. The history of the British Empire, to the Germans, was a long series of wars waged to smash the dominating power of Europe; Spain, France and Russia had been the unfortunate objects of those attacks. Now it was to be Germany.

When Great Britain created the Triple Entente shudders of apprehension passed over Germany. At the Conference of Algeciras of 1906, at the Hague Conference, in the Balkan crisis of 1908, and in the Moroccan dispute of 1911, Germany saw the fine hand of British diplomacy at work. The fear of an encircling net of hostile Powers, all armed for the fray, lay on Germany with a pressure like that of the Alps. That Edward VII was determined to strangle Germany was the mildest of the Ger-

man arguments. But King Edward died and the violent Morocco crisis of 1911 led to a *rapprochement* between England and Germany that lasted through the Balkan crisis of 1912-1913 and produced an agreement about the Bagdad Railway. Hence the Germans entered the war in the belief that Great Britain would remain neutral. Disappointed in this expectation, they turned with triple fury on the country that had encircled Germany with hostile Powers, had egged them on to the attack and then joined in that attack. Mystified by the uncertainties of British policy, the Germans took the usual Continental attitude of seeing sinister designs in every British move.

In short, Germany blamed Russian aggression in the Near East, French desire to recover Alsace-Lorraine and English envy of German commercial progress for the Entente desire to attack her. France was always looking for an opportunity to strike, Russia became alarmingly and increasingly aggressive after 1906, and England wavered back and forth while steadily maintaining the iron chain of encircling Powers.¹

EFFECT OF WAR SCARES

In general, the pre-war theories were elaborately worked out and firmly believed in. They were intensified by the ever-recurring war scares, such as those of 1875, 1887, 1891-1893, 1906, 1908-1909, 1911 and 1912-1913. Germany believed that the encircling Powers would attempt to strangle her; the Entente believed militaristic Germany would strike first. These beliefs were solidified by the war. Even to the present day these stubborn ideas crop out in unexpected places to warp the judgment of the investigator.²

¹In Austria-Hungary the racial argument predominated. Russia was the great Slavic champion, eternally intriguing with the subject nationalities in the Dual Monarchy and urging the Serbians on to the attack. After 1903, when a pro-Austrian dynasty in Serbia was replaced by a pro-Russian and when the Austro-Russian agreement for sharing influence in the Balkans had lapsed, Austria felt that Russia was deliberately trying to provoke an Austro-Serbian conflict. Hence the murder of the Archduke was considered only the chief step in an elaborate Pan-Slav program for the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy and the domination of the Balkans. ²The Socialists, too, had a set of theories. Capitalistic government, they said, leads inevitably to imperialism, armaments, and irresponsible propaganda. These in turn cause wars. Some of the Socialists looked forward

When the catastrophe did come each side tried to place the blame on the other. Naturally, each started with the body of doctrine already worked out. Each Government issued an incomplete and inaccurate set of documents to show that its sincere efforts to prevent war had been frustrated by the notoriously aggressive designs of the enemy.

The public, alarmed and pained by the tragedy, wildly and instinctively blamed the enemy. In fact, people clamored for proof of the enemy's guilt. No lie was too far-fetched, no reasoning was too faulty for acceptance. Side issues that had nothing to do with the outbreak of the war were triumphantly shouted out and accepted as proof of enemy devilishness. General, abstract arguments that would scarcely fool a child of ten in its right mind were solemnly included in articles and books. Cleverly enough, this nonsense was dramatized in terms of omnipotent Kaisers, reckless Foreign Ministers, and ruthless Generals. In short, both sides temporarily lost the power to reason about the causes of their misfortunes.

It was during the war period that men were most dogmatic in their statements on the origin of the war. For the Allied countries, it was sufficient that Austria-Hungary and Germany had taken the initiative in the declaration of war. That fact alone, without consideration of the reasons for the acts, was sufficient to "prove" that the war-at-any-price policy prevailed in Germany. For the Teutonic Powers, it was enough to show that France and England had not prevented Russia from mobilizing and that that mobilization had changed the purely local Austro-Serbian conflict into a European conflict.

Starting with the assumption that the other side was to blame, each side expanded these few facts into elaborate accounts of the other's "plots." Each side delved

to the prospect that the armed struggle would ruin the capitalist system and thus clear the ground for socialism. In practice, however, the Socialists momentarily laid aside their theories in order to resist the attack of the "barbaric" enemy.

The bourgeois pacifists held to another theory. They thought that the belief in the inevitability of war would result in war because it made statesmen despair of efforts at compromise and forced them to heap up armaments.

into the misanthropic agitation carried on by the other's Socialist opponents for arguments against the other's policy. Since neither side made any attempt to meet the arguments of the other, the result was a double chaos. Two sets of iron-clad theories about the origin of the war were produced to "prove" that Germany or the Entente, as the case might be, had started the war.

GERMANY'S PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS

The Treaty of Versailles, of course, gave legal sanction to the Entente theories. Germany was condemned to pay reparations for all the damage caused by the war because she and her allies had forced the war on Europe. To us it seems strange that a peace treaty destined to arrange European political matters for the next half century should be based on untested and undocumented accusations. The only explanation that can be advanced is that the allied statesmen had become so indoctrinated with the pre-war and war arguments that they believed they were basing the treaty on irrefutable charges.

Immediately after the Treaty of Versailles was published the Germans began a campaign against its extreme statements on the origin of the war. To them it was incredible that any one could believe such serious charges against the German Government. Insulted by the affront to the national honor and predisposed to think that they could undermine the treaty itself by proving the motivating clauses untrue, they began to publish the secret documents found among the archives of the Foreign Office. They began with 1914, but soon decided to go back as far as 1870 in order to prove the whole of the Allied case unfounded. They also induced Austria to publish the Austrian documents relating to the crisis of 1914.

But, whatever the motives of the Germans may have been, the publication of authentic State papers, edited in the best German historical manner, marked a new era in the war guilt controversy. For the other Governments were logically forced to publish their records, especially after the fragmentary revelations of the Entente secrets on the part of the Bolsheviks had

cast some measure of doubt upon the innocence of the Allies. In addition, statesmen by the dozen have written memoirs to clear themselves and their countries of war guilt attributed to them.

The second great advance, after the publication of records, must also be credited to the Germans. For they found it necessary to argue that the responsibility for the outbreak of the war was joint and not solely German. They called attention to the fact that each of the Governments in 1914 was pursuing a policy that made the preservation of peace difficult and that all of them, in so doing, were at the mercy of unescapable forces. Trade rivalry, the clash of interests in the Near East, excessive armaments and other causes of a general character were important factors in bringing on the conflict. Since no Government had resisted these forces and all had fashioned their policies to suit these forces, the blame for the war that resulted must be shared by all.

VIEW OF A GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY

From the documents, too, came proof that Germany was not solely responsible for the war. As far as the Allied documents have been published, they show that the Allied Governments were not working for war. But if neither side deliberately plotted the armed conflict, the only explanation of the resort to arms must lie in general causes of an international nature. Intelligent investigators in both camps have recognized this; the extreme arguments of both sides have been dropped. Of late interesting attempts have been made to list the Powers in the order of their responsibility. Some place Germany first, others Russia, others France, and so on. But the very fact that there is such a slight difference between the responsibility to be placed on the various Powers on the list shows how far the controversy has shifted from the old irreconcilable arguments of war days.

In this violent readjustment of ideas many pet theories have been demolished. In particular, the official patriotic version of the outbreak of the war subscribed to in every country has been thoroughly discredited. Germany has discovered that

Pan-Slavism was not the motive for Russian mobilization, but rather that it was the fear of a sudden attack from the swift-moving German army that actuated the fatal action. The Germany theory that "mobilization means war"—i. e., that Russian mobilization meant a European war—has foundered on the fact that the principle was not generally known in 1914. The "encirclement" theory has suffered from the publication of the overtures made by England to Germany at the turn of the century and information that England and Germany had made definite agreements in regard to the Bagdad Railway in 1914. As the Triple Entente did not function like a well-oiled machine, Germany cannot find anything sinister in the cooperation of the three Powers. Nor can the charges against France be substantiated, for it cannot be proved that the French Government was willing to bring on a European war for the sake of recovering Alsace-Lorraine. The German arguments, in short, have failed to convince the post-war investigators and probably will continue to do so, unless unexpected documents turn up when the French finally publish all their material.

Exactly the same fate has overtaken the Allied arguments. The charge of militaristic domination in Germany was proved untenable when the German documents showed that the Chancellor had retained control over policy until the last minute. Careful compilation of the facts has also disclosed the truth about armaments, namely, that the German armaments were smaller and less costly than the Allied forces. Thus the argument based on militarism has fallen flat. As for the Pan-Germans, it is now known that they were a small uninfluential group of fanatics who were made the object of ridicule by the German Government. More information has also disposed of the argument that Germany must have planned the war because she rejected the English conference proposals and declared war on Russia. In the matter of the conference, the German Government made at least five similar proposals; the declaration of war on Russia came only after Russia had announced a general mobilization and the German Ministers were in mortal fear of

a simultaneous attack on both flanks.

In the same way it has been shown that Austria-Hungary acted rather independently of German advice on the terms of the ultimatum to Serbia and the ensuing declaration of war. And within the last two years new information about the doings of the Serbian Government in 1914 and in previous years has led most investigators to conclude that the Austrian Government acted too slowly rather than too rashly in the face of what it considered a great menace. In this, as in most cases, the documents show that the statesmen of 1914 were sincere in the belief that they were acting on the defensive.

In many ways, then, the post-war period in the war guilt controversy has been highly fruitful. First, it has seen the publication of an enormous number of official records and semi-official memoirs. Secondly, investigators have used the facts therein disclosed to demolish the pre-war and war theories of both sides. Thirdly, the dispute has been shifted from personal devils in the shapes of diplomats to national policies and then to general causes underlying those policies. If these accomplishments seem mostly destructive, the fault lies with the decades of unreasonable prejudices that had clogged the mental machinery of investigators.

A NEW PHASE OF INTERPRETATION

Thus the controversy over the origin of the World War stands on the threshold of a new development promising to be more fruitful than all the previous discussion.

First, the general trend of all investigations is set unmistakably in the direction of balancing the responsibility among the Powers. Germany declared war, but Russia mobilized. Germany gave *carte blanche* to her ally, and so did France. And so on. Whenever an aggressive act of one Power is proved, a similar or equally serious act to balance it appears on the record of an enemy Power. Although this method of looking at both sides of a case has often—pointlessly enough—been denounced as intellectual cowardice, none the less the facts are driving historians nearer and nearer to it.

In the second place, the disputants are

coming to recognize that the diplomats of 1914 were human beings. That statesmen cannot be considered omnipotent and omniscient, or in the service of Beelzebub, robs the picture of many of its dramatic features. But it is a plain fact that lack of sleep, unaccountable whims, deep-rooted prejudices and personal quirks played a large part in those critical days. Indeed the only satisfactory explanation we have of the fateful Russian decision to mobilize tells how the blundering eagerness of the German Ambassador to Russia in delivering a "friendly warning" produced the effect of a "threat" in the mind of the Russian Foreign Minister.

In the third place, historians will pay more attention to the reasons for particular acts. In the past, controversial writers have assumed guilt from single acts without stopping to find out what motivated the act. Yet every single move had its motive in general policy, usually in a policy that was considered indispensable to national existence.

Fourthly, the historians will be more historical-minded. That is, they will study the question of the origin of the war in terms of the ideas and prejudices of the day. In 1914, for example, the movement for international peace had not reached the advanced stage it has today. Men and policies must be judged accordingly.

Finally, a certain amount of skepticism as to what constitutes "proof" of guilt will appear in our accounts. So many absolutely sure proofs have been exploded already that nothing seems to afford a basis for certainty. Documents are nearly as tricky as figures. Many policies that were of vital importance in 1914 were not committed to paper. The statesmen who have written their memoirs forgot many things in the heat of the conflict that followed the diplomatic manoeuvring. Even if we do get all the documents, there will still be room for much doubt in particular cases. As yet we have not seen all the records.

Surely we shall never again be as close to certainty as the combatants were during the war. They needed certainty to be able to put forth their best efforts. We do not need certainty of guilt, but certainty of fact.

Justifying Germany in 1914

By COUNT MAX von MONTGELAS

Eminent German historian; a leading "Revisionist"

THE most serious of the Entente myths to support the doctrine that Germany alone was responsible for precipitating the World War, was set forth recently by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt and Dr. Heinrich Kanner. The core of this contention is that Germany and Austria entered into a provocative military convention in January and February, 1909 (1908, according to Kanner), and that on the 30th and 31st of July, 1914, Germany and Austria decided upon general mobilization before they had any decisive evidence that Russia had determined upon her general mobilization. If this view can be maintained it would imply that the chronological priority of the Russian mobilization did not provoke the German decision upon those military measures which specifically initiated the formal state of war. An excellent statement of this new thesis is to be found in Professor Schmitt's rejoinder in his debate with Professor Harry Elmer Barnes before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on April 3, 1926, from which we quote:¹

Reference must not be made to an extraordinary exchange of letters between General von Moltke and Conrad von Hoetzendorf, Chief of the Austrian General Staff, which took place in January and February, 1909. It was carried on with the knowledge and approval of the Emperors of the two countries and their respective Governments, and the purpose of this exchange of letters was to insure a greater degree of secrecy than would be possible if a formal military convention were signed.

The first letter is a request from the Austrian staff to know under what circumstances Austria can count upon German armed support. Moltke replies, Jan. 21, 1909, that if Austria moves against Serbia, undertakes military action against Serbia, and Russia mobilizes even against Austria, not only will Austria be expected to mobil-

ize, but Germany herself will mobilize and recognize what the diplomats call the *casus foederis*, that is, the application of the alliance. This, it seems to me, was a much greater transformation of an alliance originally defensive, as the Austro-German Alliance of 1879 undoubtedly was, into an offensive instrument than anything Poincaré and Sazonov accomplished between 1912 and 1914.

In 1914 this schedule which Moltke had foreseen was realized to the dot. The Russian partial mobilization was ordered on July 29, very late in the evening. The next day that was converted into a general mobilization, the news of which reached Berlin at 11:40 A. M., Friday, July 31, and Vienna some time later, the exact hour not being known. Nevertheless, on the evening of July 30, twelve hours before he had learned of the Russian general mobilization, Moltke, the Chief of the German Staff, sent a telegram to Conrad saying that Austria must mobilize because Russia had mobilized in part; that Germany would mobilize and that the *casus foederis* would arise; and later on he followed that up with another telegram saying that the acceptance of a European war by Austria was the only condition on which Austria-Hungary could hope to survive.

The Austrians likewise decided on their own mobilization before they knew of the Russian general mobilization. So that, it seems to me, from the point of view of the sequence of events, Germany was prepared to mobilize before she knew of the Russian mobilization. She did not do so because Moltke was not able to convince Bethmann-Hollweg and the Kaiser that it was necessary. The German General Staff had precisely the same attitude toward the situation as the Russian General Staff and between the activities of the Russian and the German soldiers I see very little difference. It was the action of the military men in both countries which forced the situation.

* * *

Moltke, who had from the early days of the crisis clearly been anxious for mobilization, convinced the Kaiser and the Chancellor, against their better judgment, to make

¹Recent Disclosures Concerning the Origins of the World War, pp. 21-23.

the Russian mobilization the *casus belli*. And to me the most significant thing about Moltke's attitude throughout the crisis is that on July 26, before a single declaration of war had been issued, he was drafting the ultimatum which Germany later sent to Belgium. Already, so soon, he was thinking of the ultimate rupture.

CONRAD-MOLTKE NOTES OF 1909

This new doctrine of German responsibility has been set forth more thoroughly by the Austrian Germanophobe, Dr. Heinrich Kanner, in his *Der Schlüssel zur Kriegsschuldfrage* (Key to the Question of War Responsibility), Vienna, 1926. In this he emphasizes the significance of the Conrad-Moltke exchange of 1909 (1908); moreover, he tries to prove that as early as July 30 (1914), the German Government had resolved "under any circumstances" to declare on the following day the "state of imminent danger of war," and to address at the same time a summons to St. Petersburg to stop all preparations for war. According to the pamphlet mentioned, the dispatch of Count Pourtalès, which about noon of July 31 announced the general mobilization in Russia, arrived "in the very nick of time" (*fort à propos*) to supply a motive "after the event" for a decision taken on the previous day.

As a complete refutation of the thesis of Schmitt and Kanner that Moltke and Conrad perfected a secret military convention in 1909, we could not do better than to quote from Professor Fay's devastating criticism of Kanner's monograph in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1927.²

The pamphlet [Kanner's] shows how many wrong-headed conclusions can be arrived at by a biased journalist who lacks evidence of historical training and accuracy and who is bent on twisting evidence to prove that the war was caused by the German and Austrian Chiefs of Staff. He claims to have discovered what no one else has been able to find out: "The Key to the Question of War Guilt." He discovered it in the mass of papers published as Conrad's memoirs (*Aus meiner Dienstzeit*), which he seems to think that he alone has waded through. There are others, however, who

have toiled through these ponderous volumes and never found the "key" which Kanner has "discovered." Why? Because it is not there. Kanner's "key" is a supposed "Military Convention," contained in a letter of Moltke to Conrad of Jan. 21, 1909. Kanner (p. 15) incorrectly dates it 1908 instead of 1909 and quotes a few selected sentences dealing with the hypothesis that, if Austria should invade Serbia and Russia should intervene, this would be the *casus foederis* for Germany. He omits to mention that this letter was in answer to a communication from Conrad asking for a personal meeting; that Moltke declined a personal meeting for fear of the exciting effect it might have on public opinion at a moment when the crisis arising from the annexation of Bosnia was still troubling Europe; and that he said he believed it altogether likely that Russia, for various reasons, would keep still, even in case of a military conflict between Austria and Serbia. Neither this letter nor the others which were exchanged at this time between Moltke and Conrad constituted in any sense a "Military Convention." Kanner cannot quote a single passage anywhere in which any one in authority anywhere ever refers to this exchange of views as being a "Military Convention." This conception is his own unwarranted invention. This Moltke-Conrad correspondence, regarding the desirable disposition of troops on the Russian frontier in case of war, grew out of Conrad's effort to have Germany's mobilization plans provide as many troops as possible against Russia. Moltke in turn wanted to have Austria plan to use few troops in Serbia in order to send as many as possible into Galicia to relieve pressure on Germany. These arrangements were hardly as definite or as binding as those which had been made by the French and Russian staffs for some years before this. Though some of the Moltke-Conrad letters were shown to the civilian authorities, they did not legally modify the terms of the alliance.

Kanner argues that the "Military Convention" resulted in a German "decision" for war, many hours before the arrival of the news of Russian general mobilization; that it was not Russian mobilization but Moltke's promises to Conrad which are to blame for the outbreak of the war. But his evidence and arguments are not convincing.

We may now turn more specifically to

²Fay: I. c., p. 318.

Kanner's charge that Moltke and Conrad had decided upon and ordered mobilization before learning of the Russian mobilization. In order to refute this thesis it is sufficient to recall two conversations of the German Chief of the General Staff with his associates. A little after midnight, July 30-31, General von Moltke said to Lieut. Col. von Haefen: "*We have two reports that merit credence, the one independent of the other, which prove that in Russia the general mobilization of all the armed forces has already been ordered.*" (We know today that those two reports were very accurate, for six hours before this the telegraphic order for the mobilization had arrived in all the centres of the Czar's Empire.) Nevertheless, notwithstanding information "worthy of credence," von Moltke added: "*Before advising his Majesty to mobilize I wish to await a third confirmation of the news about the Russian mobilization.*"

VON MOLTKE'S CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE

The second conversation took place by telephone about 7 o'clock in the morning of the 31st. A staff officer at Allenstein (in East Prussia) reported that the red orders of mobilization had already been posted up on the other side of the frontier. Even then von Moltke refused to see in this report the third confirmation that he was waiting for, but answered: "*It is necessary that you procure one of those posted orders. It is essential that I have the certainty that they are really mobilizing against us. Before having that certainty I am not able to elicit a mobilization order.*"³

The defenders of Russia will object that there exist two documents according to which the attitude of von Moltke was less reserved.⁴ One is a report signed by the military attaché of Austro-Hungary at Berlin, sent off at 9:40 P. M., July 30:

Moltke says he regards the situation critical unless the monarchy mobilizes immediately against Russia. The declaration made by Russia on the subject of mobiliza-

tion * * * renders counter measures necessary on the part of Austro-Hungary—this is what would have to be expressed in the official explanation of motives. At that point the *casus foederis* would begin for Germany. Seek an honorable arrangement with Italy. * * * Reject new steps of England for maintaining peace. To support the European war is the ultimate means for the preservation of Austro-Hungary. Germany will march without reserve.

The other message, received at Vienna July 31, 7:45 A. M., was signed by Moltke himself:

Meet the Russian mobilization. Austro-Hungary should be preserved. Mobilize immediately against Russia. Germany will mobilize. Compel Italy by compensations to fulfill her duties as an ally.⁵

It is necessary to distinguish four points in these telegrams:

1. The advice given to Austria to mobilize without delay was fully justified.⁶

2. The same is true of the advice to make concessions to Italy.

3. The suggestion as to new steps by England was undoubtedly beyond Moltke's competence. However, it exercised no influence upon the decisions of the Vienna Cabinet, for it was not even discussed at the Council of Ministers on July 31.⁷ Also the text of this suggestion is challenged.⁸

4. Finally, the promise that Germany would mobilize on her part is explained by the conviction, based upon numerous reports, that Russia, under the cover of the official mobilization against Austria, had already simultaneously proceeded to mobilize secretly against Germany.

The essential point is that the two documents, revealed by the Memoirs of Conrad, do not weaken in any respect the capital testimony of the two conversations men-

³This dispatch is not to be found either in the archives at Berlin, nor in those at Vienna, nor among the posthumous papers of Conrad. The text has been reconstructed from notes taken by Conrad's aide-de-camp.

⁴Compare the opinion of Renouvin, the eminent French historian: Austria "had reason to act in this way."

⁵*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. III, No. 79.

⁶According to the notes of the military attaché of Austria-Hungary, it was not a question of stopping the mediation already in course of operation, but of rejecting "new steps if any occur." See *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, August, 1926, p. 525, note 21.

⁷René Puaux: *Etudes de la Guerre*, fascicule VIII, pp. 666, 678; Schulthess' *Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, 1917, pp. 996-997, 1900.

⁸Conrad von Hoetzendorf: *Aus meiner Dienstzeit*, Vol. IV, p. 152.

tioned above of Moltke with his collaborators, and from which it follows that he had no chance of obtaining the consent either of the Emperor or the Chancellor for a German mobilization before the Russian general mobilization was confirmed in an indubitable manner. Let us add the following to these two other documents.

At the very hour, namely, at noon on July 31, when the fatal dispatch of Pourtalès was being deciphered at Berlin, the Emperor was writing from Potsdam to the Minister of Marine an autograph letter in which he spoke at length of the Anglo-German mediation, and in which he said: "Between Vienna and Peterhof diplomatic conversations have at last been begun, and Peterhof has asked for the mediation of London."⁹

At noon on July 31 Wilhelm II was still full of hope that peace could be main-

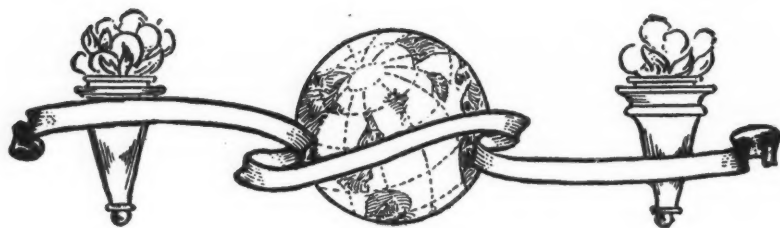
tained. A little while afterward that hope vanished. At 12:55 he telegraphed to the King of England:¹⁰

I received at this moment from the Chancellor the news that he has just received the official notification that Nicky last night ordered the mobilization of all his army and all his navy. He has not even awaited the results of the mediation on which I am working, and he has left me without news. I am returning to Berlin for the purpose of securing the safety of my eastern frontiers, where strong contingents of Russian troops are already stationed.

One could not imagine more conclusive proof that the decisions taken at Berlin, July 31, at 2 o'clock were provoked solely by the official news of the general mobilization in Russia, and that those decisions would not have been taken if that mobilization had not intervened.

⁹*German Documents on the Outbreak of the World War*, No. 474.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, No. 477.



New Test to Discover Mechanical Ability

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, D. C.

ONE of the most interesting of recent applications of psychology for practical purposes is a simple pencil and paper test for measuring an individual's mechanical ability. This test, which has been devised by Dr. T. W. MacQuarrie of the University of Southern California, is one for general mechanical ability rather than to find out whether an individual would make a good auto repair man or a good steamfitter. "There are very few mechanics," Dr. MacQuarrie declares, "who believe that work in one craft is different from work in any other. Most real mechanics feel that they could have learned any other mechanical trade just as easily as the one they selected, and, as a matter of fact, are proficient in two or more lines, and keep employed in one as well as in another."

Psychologists have hitherto depended on tests with workshop equipment as the most satisfactory means of showing whether or not an individual is good at using his hands. The new test, which requires a lead pencil as its single tool and a school desk as its shop bench, is less expensive than the tests with apparatus. The new test can be given to a large number of people more easily. It is equally fair for the girl with a leaning toward engines and tools but no real experience and for the man who is used to tinkering with complicated apparatus. What is most important, the paper test has stood preliminary tests of its usefulness, and is reported promising as a reliable gauge of mechanical ability. The test consists of seven parts. In one section the competitor shows his ability to draw lines quickly without touching other lines. In another part he shows the speed and precision with which he can use his hands by rapidly putting three dots in each of a great many little circles. In another he is

given a sheet covered with a network of curving, irregular lines, and told to trace each line across the sheet without losing track of it. The test is not a mental test, but is intended entirely to show what the individual can do with his hands after he is thoroughly familiar with the directions.

LONGER LIFE CAMPAIGN

Assured by health experts that the life of the average man and woman might be lengthened by as many as twenty years, the Milbank Memorial Fund of New York has set out deliberately to increase the life span of the residents in three typical districts of New York State. The cooperation of the best professional experts has been obtained to make demonstrations of what can now be done to reduce sickness and to extend the period of healthy life in the average American community. Work has been under way for more than three years in Cattaraugus County, a typical rural district, and in Syracuse, a medium-sized city. The third enterprise, in the Bellevue and Yorkville neighborhoods of New York City, was inaugurated about a year ago. This district is bounded by Fourteenth and Sixty-fourth Streets, the East River and Fourth Avenue. From Forty-second to Fifty-ninth Street it extends as far west as Sixth Avenue. This means that it has within it the large slice of fashionable New York that centres around Park Avenue and the Fifties, as well as some very poor districts, and some that are peopled by the merely comfortable social groups. Its population is 214,000.

Each of the experiments is conducted under the auspices of the local health officers and in accordance with the laws and rules and regulations of the New York State Health Department and of each locality. The fund furnishes expert consultants,

and temporarily provides the money for services which would otherwise not be obtainable in the locality.

That American citizens will themselves pay bills shown necessary to maintain improved public health standards has already been demonstrated, in part, in Cattaraugus County and in Syracuse. In the latter city the Board of Estimate just recently voted to take over \$51,970 for additional health services set up and temporarily provided through these demonstrations. In the former locality, Cattaraugus County, the Board of Supervisors agreed to take over \$56,000 of such expenditures for public health work—increasing by 250 per cent. any previous appropriation of public funds for this purpose. The results of this longer life campaign in these three typical districts will be watched with interest by members of medical and lay professions alike.

THE GLOZEL TABLETS

Little tablets of clay, with cryptic signs on them, vases carved in the form of death's heads and other strange and ancient-looking objects dug up in a field in the village of Glozel in France have roused one of the most remarkable present-day controversies in the history of science. During recent months a number of prominent French scientists have journeyed to Glozel under the guidance of Dr. A. Morlet, who is in charge of excavations at the site of the discovery. On reaching the field, Dr. Morlet has suggested that each scientist choose his spot and make a trial excavation. And the experts have proceeded to unearth for themselves some of the mysterious objects, which seem to be hidden there in unending profusion. As a result of their observations, some French scientists now pronounce Glozel one of the most important archaeological discoveries of a hundred years. As to what the great collection of objects means, however, the savants find it impossible to agree. The most puzzling finds are the many small tablets of clay on which rows of marks have been cut—crosses, half circles and other peculiar signs, like a strange kind of writing. The layer of earth in which the pottery and these tablets have been found

is pronounced by some French experts as certainly of the New Stone Age, before man learned to use metal.

This raises the question whether these are alphabet writings and whether the origin of the alphabet must be set back far earlier than the Phoenician times, to the cave men era. Why not admit, asks one French scientist, M. Esperandieu, that men, who were sufficiently developed in intellect and artistic enough to make the carvings of Stone Age caves and the Glozelian carvings might have had the idea of rendering the sounds of speech by signs? But so far attempts to read the signs, made by one or two scientists, have not revealed any certain clues to a prehistoric alphabet system. Another scientist, Dr. Marcel Baudouin, putting two and two together from various bits of evidence, concludes that the carvings were made with tools of metal, and that the entire place is a relic of the Age of Bronze, perhaps as old as 5000 B. C. An expert on Roman antiquities, Camille Jullian, believes that the signs on the little tablets are cursive Latin, dating back only to the Roman Empire, about 300 B. C. "The inscriptions could be translated, in part at least," he says. M. Jullian's explanation of the vases, carved pebbles, polished arrow points and little clay statuettes is that in Roman times sorcerers sometimes dug up prehistoric relics and used them in their magic rites. The little tablets are engraved with magic formulas and incantations, he believes.

Seymour de Ricci, one of the visitors at Glozel who watched excavations there and who saw the large collection of articles in M. Morlet's museum, found the place altogether too remarkable. "I will not conceal from you," he told Dr. Morlet, "that apart from the fragments of stone, and perhaps—though I am not sure—a piece of polished axe, all the rest is a fake." Among the strangest finds from Glozel are the vases, carved to resemble death's heads. The hollow eyes and short bridge of the nose are cleverly modeled to resemble a skull. The fact that no mouth is carved on these heads is explained on the grounds that primitive man realized that dead men did not speak. The clay faces without mouths are believed to have been used as

funeral vases, and according to some theories Glozel was a site where prehistoric men held magic and religious rites.

HISTORY OF FIRE

Dr. Walter Hough, head curator of anthropology in the United States National Museum, in a just issued history of fire as an agent in human culture, reveals the fact that a Parsee fire temple near Baku made the first recorded use of natural gas about the beginning of the seventh century. According to one account, the gas well was ignited by accident and continued to burn in the shrine that was built over it for over a thousand years. Dr. Hough points out that the discovery of petroleum in North America during the nineteenth century probably saved the whale from extinction, since it put an end to the great whaling industry which had developed out of the use of sea-oil lamps. A unique torch used by the natives of the Orkney Islands utilizes the body of the stormy petrel for illumination. The sea bird's body is so impregnated with oil that it makes a good light. The burning is sometimes facilitated by the insertion of a wick, thus making a true lamp. The first people to use coal for fuel, according to Dr. Hough, were the Pueblo Indians of Arizona. It was dug out of near-by veins for firing pottery, but as far as can be ascertained was used only for this purpose. This sporadic use of coal antedated by many centuries its employment for fuel by civilized man. Roman houses were heated by a kind of hot air furnace system of pipes that conducted heated air through the rooms from a subterranean furnace. During the supremacy of Rome, also, olive oil formed the basis of one of the greatest developments in the history of illumination. The use of the oil-burning Roman lamp extended throughout the regions bordering on the Mediterranean, dating from the time when the empire became developed sufficiently along economic lines to have an excess of oil over what was needed for food.

VOLCANIC RESEARCH

Near the crater of Kilauea lives Dr. T. A. Jaggar, who is devoting his life to volcanic research. In order to be in touch with the activities of Hawaii's volcano day

and night, he has established his home almost directly on the edge of its crater, where he can watch its constantly varying moods through the seismographic instruments as well as by personal observation of its interior. As a new method of ascertaining the temperature of the volcano's action, borings ten feet deep and 1,000 feet apart are being made in the solid rock floor of the crater. As each boring is completed the temperature at the bottom is taken and recorded, following which the top of the hole is capped with a metal ring in order to preserve it for future readings. It is expected by means of these borings to solve a problem which has baffled scientists ever since their attention was first directed to a study of volcanoes and earthquakes. Dr. Jaggar has three objects in boring into the crater of Kilauea. He wishes to ascertain the relation of increase in temperature to increase in depth, to discover if there is any difference between the temperatures in the different holes at the same depth and to see to what extent heat is produced by slow oxidation in the lava. Lava cools very slowly. This is evidenced by the fact that although Mauna Iki flowed in 1920, there are cracks in the lava hot enough today to burn anything thrown into them. Dr. Jaggar is as yet uncertain what results will be worked out from data obtained through these borings. He thinks it quite possible that some of the holes may show a seasonal or tidal heating or cooling. Volcanic eruption might even be forecast by the sudden rise in temperature in these holes.

INCREASING DURATION OF LIFE

One of the most notable achievements in the eventful half century since Pasteur has been the increase in the average duration of life in the United States. At present the average length of life is 58 years. Public health experts predict that the average years of man will continue to lengthen as time goes on. At the recent convention of the American Public Health Association Professor Irving Fisher of Yale gave a schedule of how the duration of life should increase in the years to come, assuming that a hundred-year average duration is the attainable limit. In 1930, the average length of life will be 61; in 1940,

65; 1950, 69; 1960, 72; 1970, 75; 1980, 78; 1990, 80; 2000, 82. In the distant time of 2100 nearly everybody should live until 94 years of age. Professor Fisher pointed out that increases in length of life were being made at an amazing rate at the present time. The pace for the quarter century just past was 40 years increase per century, whereas it was only 4 years per century in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Professor Fisher presented what he declared to be "the most sensational conclusion which science has ever reached." It is that life cells and many tissues of man are potentially immortal in the purely physical sense. There will be a time, perhaps, when men will live, if not forever, at least much longer than the century mark, which is now practically the limit of the human life span. Professor Woodruff of Yale, he recalled, found that no natural death occurred in 8,500 generations of a minute organism, paramecium, a period of time equal to 250,000 years of human life. Dr. Alexis Carrel of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research has kept a chicken heart growing and alive for over fifteen years, an age that no chicken can attain. Professor Thomas H. Morgan of Columbia found that 1-250 part of a worm will regenerate and become younger than the original worm. The time will come, perhaps, Professor Fisher said, when the human being will have an indefinite life span, when his defective and worn-out parts can be replaced and renewed like those of a watch.

A NEW GASOLINE

Petroleum, which has become so important in modern daily life, will, it now appears, be abundant only during the next decade or so. Already chemists are hard at work attempting to create methods for supplying motor fuel when the natural petroleum is no longer available. The Berlin professor, Franz Fischer, who recently devised means of making liquid fuels synthetically from coal products, has now simplified his process so that he can dispense with costly high-pressure apparatus that has stood in the way of its commercial development. The new method produces a pleasant smelling gasoline as clear as water and one which will not harden or

become gummy on exposure. The gasoline is highly volatile, and is largely made up of unsaturated compounds like olefines, which impart to the gasoline valuable anti-knock properties. This enables it to be used in efficient high-compression motors without objectionable knocking and with great economy. A number of valuable by-products may help to put the process on a sound commercial basis in the future. Certain substances of high boiling point condensing to heavier oils may, by the use of catalyzing agents, be changed to hard paraffine. It is claimed that the purified crystallized substance could be used in the manufacture of candles and other paraffine products.

Semi-coke, a new industry by-product for which a commercial use has not yet been found, may be used as the basis of synthesis of this new gasoline. Semi-coke is left over in the low temperature carbonization of coal in the making of tar oils. In the Fischer process water gas from which the new liquid fuel is condensed can be made from coke or semi-coke, and the latter, it is said, would be an ideal starting material. Coke and coal are almost completely gassified when steam is led over them at a high temperature, and water gas, a mixture of carbon monoxide and hydrogen, is formed. If this water gas could be entirely transformed into liquid motor fuel the problem of the wasteless transformation of solid coal into liquid fuel, the dream of the modern chemists, would be accomplished.

The Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik first succeeded in commercially synthesizing liquid fuels from this gas mixture in Germany by means of Dr. Fischer's early method, in which pressures of 1,500 pounds per square inch or more were employed. By his new process, however, Dr. Fischer has succeeded in synthesizing gaseous, liquid and solid carbohydrates from carbon monoxide and hydrogen at ordinary pressure. Hitherto all reduction of carbon monoxide without pressure yielded methane, but Fischer found that by using an iron-zinc oxide catalyzer more complicated products were formed. Other metals and their compounds were studied and a cobalt chromium oxide mixture was found to stimulate the formation of gaseous, liquid

and solid carbohydrates, when heated to about 518 degrees Fahrenheit. The carbon of the carbon monoxide is said to be made into carbide by the metal, and the carbide then split by the hydrogen in the gas mixture. As a result the metal is regenerated and carbohydrates are formed. In the old Fischer method a large proportion of the synthetic products formed were highly oxidized, but in the new normal pressure process they are unoxidized. Professor Fischer found that if the temperature was raised the formation of higher carbohydrates stopped and methane was again formed.

TRANSOCEANIC TELEPHONY

The opening on Jan. 7, 1927, of the first commercial intercontinental radiotelephone service was the logical outgrowth of the experimental one-way transmission of human speech that Arlington succeeded in sending to the Eiffel Tower in Paris during the World War. Several years of extensive experimentation and experimental operation of the transoceanic radiotelephone "line" was necessary before the commercial service at \$25 a minute could be begun. With the entry of radio into America's great telephony net, the lack of secrecy that comes of all radio being conducted over only one "line," the ether, is important. Hard times are in store for any transatlantic gossips who may wish to indulge in a little eavesdropping on the overseas radiophone service. Officials of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company state that, although absolute secrecy of the transatlantic telephony is not guaranteed, it will be difficult to listen in because a special transmitting system is used. This is the suppressed carrier method, by which the voice is sent through the ether without a carrier wave. In the ordinary receiver an unintelligible jumble of sounds is all one hears, but when a receiving set is used that restores the missing carrier it is fully understandable. Another difficulty of listening in, at least so far as the United States is concerned, is

that the signals from London are very faint. It was in order to make them as loud as possible that the telephone company placed the receiving set at Houlton, Maine, 700 miles of long distance lines from New York, so that at best an interloper would only be able to hear one side of the conversation.

CORN BORER CAMPAIGN

The United States House of Representatives has approved a bill to spend \$10,000,000 on a campaign against the corn borer, the insect pest that threatens the corn belt. This is quite aside from the \$685,000 asked in the regular Agricultural bill for the purposes of research and quarantine by the Bureau of Entomology. Contrary to a widespread impression, this \$10,000,000 appropriation is not for the eradication of the borer. Government entomologists have no hope of such a thing as eradication. To achieve that it would be necessary to turn the infested area into a desert, for the European corn borer attacks 225 different kinds of plants. Thus eradication is out of the question. The \$10,000,000 appropriation is for an experimental campaign to reduce the chances of the corn borer's spreading throughout the corn belt by reducing the number of borers present in the infested areas. Last year was the first year that the corn borer did any real commercial damage in the United States, but the example of Canada, where the main corn belt is heavily infested and where 12,000 square miles suffered a complete loss of the crop last year, shows what the corn borer may do here in time unless steps are taken. The Government, under the bill, would bear the expense of any farm clean-up measures in addition to those followed by the farmer in normal circumstances. In other words, the Government pays for the extra labor and expense involved in the special operations necessary in infested areas. The Government does not propose to hold itself responsible financially for damage to corn or other farm crops.

America Misled by Five-Power Naval Treaty

By THOMAS S. BUTLER

Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the United States House of Representatives

ALTHOUGH President Coolidge has made proposals for the holding of a naval limitation conference at Geneva, and although subsequently, on March 2, 1927, he signed the Naval Appropriation bill containing the provision for the immediate construction of the last three of the eight cruisers authorized in 1924, to which he was opposed because plans for that conference were in progress, it is still of the utmost importance for the American people to ask what is the situation in regard to the five-power naval treaty which was concluded at the Washington conference five years ago by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

The question is, Has the spirit of the Washington conference, which was held for the express purpose of limiting sea power, been violated by any of the nations taking part in it? What was the understanding of these contracting Powers, discovered by an examination of all the proceedings of the conference?

A minute examination of all the proceedings of the Washington conference shows that their objective was a limitation of armament generally, and although some of the Powers did, by declaration in discussions, reserve to themselves the liberty to build subsidiary ships of war, in the event that their interests demanded it, none of them made known during the sessions of the conference its intention to build large fleets of such vessels.

I have said that America has been fooled as to the objects to be obtained through the Washington Treaty, and from that statement I have nothing to take nor from it do I propose to make any departure. But I did not say, nor would I dare say, that any of these contracting Powers deliberately fooled America in the object for which she strived. What I meant to

say and what I mean to say now is that America did not have the same understanding of the effects resulting from the treaty that other Powers seemed to have had. I did say, and I repeat, that the spirit of this treaty, as understood by the American people, has, in my judgment, been ignored by some of these nations.

What was the object of the Washington conference? Let us turn to the "invitation" sent by President Harding on Aug. 11, 1921, to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan:

Productive labor is staggering under an economic burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced. It is idle to look for stability, or the assurance of social justice, or the security of peace, while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress. The enormous disbursements in the rivalries of armaments manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity.

Did any of the Powers decline to accept the invitation because of the object stated by the President? The report of the proceedings fails to disclose that they even hesitated; on the contrary, they all avowed the pleasure it gave them to accept the invitation.

What was the situation then regarding naval armaments? According to the statement of Secretary of State Hughes, the United States was building fifteen capital ships totaling 618,000 tons, all of which were well under construction; Great Britain had spent small sums of money on four ships of a total of 172,000 tons, but their keels had not been laid; Japan was building five ships and had spent money on the construction of two additional ships, the keels of which had not been laid, a total of 289,100 tons. The tonnage of smaller vessels under construc-

tion amounted to 118,457 by the United States, 78,740 by Great Britain, 56,943 by Japan, 1,948 by France and none by Italy.

A reflection upon this statement of the world's sea armament shows the necessity for this conference, which met on Nov. 12, 1921, and was addressed by President Harding as follows:

Gentlemen of the conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone. * * * I can speak officially only for our United States. *Our hundred millions frankly want less of armament and none of war. Wholly free from guile, sure in our own minds that we harbor no unworthy designs, we accredit the world with the same good intent. So I welcome you, not alone in good will and high purpose, but with high faith.* [All italics mine.]

Our Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, was elected the Chairman of the conference, and made this statement to the delegates:

The world looks to this conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. [Applause.]

* * * What was convenient or highly desirable before is now a matter of vital necessity. If there is to be economic rehabilitation, if the longings for reasonable progress are not to be denied, *if we are to be spared the uprisings of peoples made desperate in the desire to shake off burdens no longer endurable, competition in armament must stop.* [Great Applause.] * * *

In order appropriately to limit naval armament, competition in its production must be abandoned. Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another, and if competition continues its regulation is impracticable. *There is only one adequate way out and that is to end it now.* [Applause.]

MEANING OF "ARMAMENT"

The proceedings of the conference fail to disclose that any of the delegates demurred to his statement that competition in armament must stop. On the contrary, all the delegates applauded it. Moreover, it will be noted that there was no reference to battleships alone, and that "arma-

ment" included all types of naval vessels. Who, then, will dispute the statement that it was in the minds of all these delegates that they were there for the purpose of limiting not only numbers of battleships but of all other types of warships, thus lifting the burden of sea armaments? This is shown by the following proposal made by Mr. Hughes:

Classes.	U. S. (Tons)	Gt. Britain. (Tons)	Japan. (Tons)
Capital ships.....	500,000	500,000	300,000
Auxiliary surface craft	450,000	450,000	270,000
Submarines	90,000	90,000	54,000
Aircraft carriers..	80,000	80,000	48,000
Total	1,120,000	1,120,000	672,000

The sixteenth article of the American proposal contained the important provision that "no new auxiliary combatant craft may be built exempt from this agreement regarding limitation of naval armaments that exceed 3,000 tons displacement and fifteen knots speed, and carry more than four 5-inch guns."

At this point the first session of the conference ended. After three days' reflection over the proposal the delegates met again and here is what Mr. Balfour, representing Great Britain, said:

Suddenly I became aware, as I suppose all present became aware, that they were assisting not merely at an eloquent and admirable speech, but at a great historical event. It was led up to with such art, the transition seemed so natural, that when the blow fell, when the speaker uttered the memorable words which have now gone round and found an echo in every quarter of the civilized world, it came as a shock of profound surprise; it excited the sort of emotions we have when some wholly new event suddenly springs into view and we felt that a new chapter in the history of world reconstruction had been worthily opened.

It will be noticed that Mr. Balfour thought a new sun had risen and a new condition had been ordained, because, repeating him, "a new chapter in * * * world reconstruction had been worthily opened." He then stated the position of his Government as follows:

It does deal with three great fleets of the world and in the broad spirit in which it deals with those fleets, in the proportion of disarmament which it lays down for those fleets, the Government of the country which I represent is in the fullest and the heartiest sympathy with the policy which

the United States have brought before us for our consideration. [Applause.] They have, as we think most rightly, taken the battle fleet as the aggressive unit which they have in the main to consider; and in the battle fleet you must include those auxiliary ships without which a modern battle fleet has neither eyes nor ears, has little power of defense against certain forms of attack and little power of observation; little power of dealing with any equal foe to which it may be opposed. Taking those two as really belonging to one subject, namely, the battle fleet, taking those two, the battleships themselves and the vessels auxiliary and necessary to a battle fleet, we think that the proportion between the various countries is acceptable; *we think the limitation of amounts is reasonable; we think it should be accepted; we firmly believe that it will be accepted.* [Applause.]

A manifestation of British spirit will be seen in the language Mr. Balfour used when he said: "The Government of the country which I represent is in the fullest and heartiest sympathy with the policy which the United States have brought before us for our consideration." This statement of the sympathy of the British Government with the proposal of the American Government was received by applause from all the delegates. But it is also important to take note of these words in Mr. Balfour's statement: "In the battle fleet you must include those auxiliary ships without which the modern battle fleet has neither eyes nor ears." Mr. Balfour concluded his speech on this occasion with an eloquent statement: "This scheme, after all—what does it do? It makes idealism a practical proposition. [Applause.] *It takes hold of the dream which reformers, poets, publicists, even potentates, as we heard the other day, have from time to time put before mankind as the goal to which human endeavor should aspire.*" To applaud a statement usually means to endorse it. Of course, there might have been among those who applauded some who did not understand Mr. Balfour's eloquence, but it cannot be said that the delegates at the Washington conference were not men of wisdom or that they were ignorant of the great game they were playing.

Baron Kato, speaking for Japan, made the following statement:

She [Japan] cannot remain unmoved by the high aims which have actuated the

American project. Gladly accepting, therefore, the proposal in principle, *Japan is ready to proceed with determination to a sweeping reduction in her naval armament. Japan has never claimed nor had any intention of claiming to have a naval establishment equal in strength to that of either the United States or the British Empire.* Her existing plan will show conclusively that she had never in view preparation for offensive war. [Applause.]

AMERICA "FOOLED"

Will any one conclude that I spoke recklessly or carelessly or for the purpose of deception when I made the statement that the sober-minded American had permitted himself to be "fooled" as to what Great Britain and Japan proposed to do toward the maintenance of a policy which these two great nations accepted and which all the delegates of the other nations applauded?

The proposal made by Secretary Hughes was then referred by the conference to the Committee on Limitation of Armament. This committee was composed of all the principal delegates. After a long discussion the American proposal with regard to capital ships, with some slight modifications, was agreed to. What sacrifice did America here make in order to get Japan to agree? It was that America undertook not to construct additional naval bases or fortifications in either the Philippines or Guam—a sacrifice which America willingly made in order that the great race of armaments might end. In addition to that sacrifice, as a result of this conference, America destroyed 531,000 tons of fine battleships and battle cruisers; Great Britain sacrificed only 98,000 tons of ships which she had planned to build, and Japan scrapped 111,400 tons, which had been laid down, and 84,000 more tons of ships whose keels had not even been laid.

Every effort made to reach an agreement upon auxiliary surface craft and submarines failed, for reasons that can be discovered by any one who has both the inclination and the diligence to read the hundreds of pages of proceedings. It is idle to say that the Americans did not know that the treaty applied only to two kinds of craft—battleships and airplane carriers. The proceedings show that the delegates could not and would not write

down in the bond a limitation of auxiliary ships. Yet after all their discussions, which were at times bitter, and notwithstanding their failure, and after their conclusions had all been reached, when the delegates sat down to write the treaty they made known to the world its underlying spirit in the words of its preamble:

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan:

Desiring to contribute to the maintenance of the general peace and to reduce the burdens of competition in armament:

Have resolved, with a view to accomplishing these purposes, to conclude a Treaty to limit their respective naval armament.

Here I repeat that reference is made to "naval armament" and not merely to battleships or any other type of ships.

When Mr. Hughes presented the treaty to the full conference and just before the signatures of all five nations were added, he made this statement:

"This treaty ends, absolutely ends, the race in competition in naval armament." To this he added: "The best thing about the engagement is the spirit which has been manifested throughout our negotiation and to which is due our ability to reach this fortunate conclusion."

M. Sarraut, on behalf of France, followed, disavowing her purpose to go into further competition in smaller craft and reserving only the liberty to build them.

She [France] asserts only her freedom to build such forces; not her determination to build them. It is certain she will not wish to incur such a burden, if circumstances make it so she can give it up without danger.

Senatore Schanzer, the Italian delegate, followed this French statement by expressing a fear that competition might be transferred from battleships to cruisers, but Mr. Hughes replied to this as follows:

May I be permitted to say that I think that the fact of a naval agreement which has been reached in respect to capital ships and the public opinion that has so manifestly supported it throughout the world will make it very difficult for any Powers to engage in very serious competition in the production of the craft which unfortunately are not covered by the terms of this Naval Treaty.

On Feb. 4, 1922, at the sixth meeting of the conference, eloquent speeches were

made by all the delegates. Some of them were so encouraging that they are worth quoting. Here is what Mr. Balfour said:

All those who either from the financial or the moral side of the question looked with horror upon this competitive building in armaments now feel that by the labors of this conference, by the spirit it has shown, by the decisions to which it has come, *a new era has really begun for the whole world*, but more than anywhere else for that part of the world in which the great maritime powers are most intimately and deeply concerned. (Applause.)

"A MORAL PROBLEM"

Whether Mr. Balfour really thought a new era had begun, America thought so. "We have proceeded," M. Sarraut pointed out, "to that *moral disarmament* without which material disarmament would only be an inadequate and temporary makeshift." Americans are now asking wherein is the morality. It is not within their vision. Perhaps it can be found in the large war fleet which France has been building since this treaty. "We all agree," said Senator Schanzer, "that the problem of limitation of armaments is not only a technical, military one. It is also, above all, *a moral problem*." And at the conclusion of the conference President Harding said:

It may be that the naval holiday here contracted will expire with the treaties, *but I do not believe it*. (Applause.) Those of us who live another decade are more likely to witness a growth of public opinion, strengthened by the new experience, which will make nations more concerned with living to the fulfillment of God's high intent than with agencies of warfare and destruction.

These quotations, which could be multiplied at will, have been inserted to show the spirit of the conference as well as the results obtained.

Apart from what Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan concluded, what was the real outcome of the Washington conference? America has shown plainly her understanding of its effects upon armament limitation by what she has done. Great Britain already had her guns elevated on her battleships. Japan has since elevated hers. America declined to elevate her guns at the request of Secretary Hughes, lest the spirit of this agreement might be

destroyed, though on March 2, 1927, President Coolidge signed an appropriation bill for the elevation of the guns on the battleships Oklahoma and Nevada. In a letter addressed to me under date of Jan. 6, 1925. Mr. Hughes gave his reasons as follows:

I may add that, in view of the detailed description given by the Navy Department of the nature of the changes which would be necessary to elevate the turret guns on the capital ships retained by the United States, these changes appear to be of a minor sort, and, in my opinion, would not constitute a reconstruction of the ships within the meaning which should be attributed to the provision of the naval treaty. I am of the opinion, however, that while such changes as would be contemplated in the case of the American ships would not constitute a violation of the terms of the Treaty, they would tend to evoke the competition which it has been the policy of this Government to mitigate.

Believing that competition in all sea armament was at an end, President Harding requested the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives to report a bill reducing the line officers of the navy by more than 2,000, and the authorized enlisted strength by over 50,000 men. I reported such a bill on March 25, 1922, but before this bill was considered the President evidently had received some information and he advised me not to press it. I wonder what he had heard, because there has always been a conviction in my mind that President Harding received some information that made it unwise to make this wholesale reduction of American seamen.

Yet more important, what did the American Congress understand to have been the real result of the Washington conference, when it unanimously passed a law instructing the President to destroy the great fleet we were then building? Does any one imagine that the American Congress would have been foolish enough to have destroyed \$275,000,000 worth of good ships (whose destruction itself cost an additional \$27,000,000), abandoning its lead in sea power, if it had not thought that there was some reliance to be placed in the spirit manifested by all parties to the treaty, so emphatically stated by Secre-

tary Hughes in the word, "This treaty ends, absolutely ends, the race in competition in naval armament!"

I mean what I say when I assert that, if any other understanding should have been in the minds of Congress at the time it destroyed this Government property, every one who took part in it, if he is now in public place, should be thrown out of office. Any public official who would thus destroy public property, anticipating that it would have to be replaced within four years, should be driven from the society of good men. Nowhere in history can there be found a greater waste. Within four years of this unprecedented destruction of Government property the American Congress is required, because of the great building programs of other nations, to put in its place many cruisers, just as dangerous to both property and men as the battleships which were destroyed and requiring more money than the cost of the ships destroyed.

POWERS' BUILDING PROGRAM

The strongest evidence of what America understood to be the real result of the Washington conference is shown by the very small number of ships we have laid down since the date of the treaty. The following tables indicate the trend of naval construction since the armistice in type of vessels not limited by the treaty:

CRUISER TONNAGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION FROM 1922 TO 1927 ON JAN. 1 OF EACH YEAR, INCLUDING CRUISER MINELAYERS.

Year.	U. S.	Gt. Brit.	Japan.	France.	Italy.
1922..	75,000	53,100	33,445	.....	.....
1923..	75,000	41,570	50,820	7,873	.....
1924..	37,500	41,570	36,580	23,619	.....
1925..	7,500	103,330	65,185	33,619	.....
1926..	.....	83,840	68,400	43,619	.....
*1927..	20,000	110,000	54,200	53,619	20,000

DESTROYER LEADERS AND DESTROYERS

Year.	U. S.	Gt. Brit.	Japan.	France.	Italy.
1922..	3,645	100,575	7,680	940	12,595
1923..	8,175	9,600	2,359	11,219
1924..	6,850	10,200	31,362	12,441
1925..	4,310	11,200	31,362	14,626
1926..	2,540	12,960	40,188	20,136
*1927..	2,540	8,670	45,157	19,112

SUBMARINES (SURFACE DISPLACEMENTS)

Year.	U. S.	Gt. Brit.	Japan.	France.	Italy.
†1922..	39,812	15,065	15,818	1,008	.....
†1923..	29,008	15,065	11,216	5,402	.....
†1924..	14,490	10,525	14,990	10,020	.....
†1925..	7,952	9,475	16,674	17,201	.....
†1926..	5,054	4,945	15,674	18,798	5,200
*†1927..	8,670	4,945	11,663	24,871	12,345

Note.—* Oct. 1, 1926. † British figures. Displacement of United States submarines not published.

BUILDING PROGRAMS OF CRUISERS, DESTROYERS AND SUBMARINES.

Date.	U.S.	Gt. Brit.	Japan.	France.	Italy.
Arms Conference.....	118,457	78,740	56,943	1,948	...
Jan. 1, 1927.....	28,670	117,485	74,533	123,647	44,312
Result.....	89,787 (minus)	38,745 (plus)	17,590 (plus)	121,699 (plus)	44,312 (plus)

What does this table show? Notwithstanding the protestation made by the delegates at the conference, the American people will be slow to give them credit. Immediately our ships were sunk in twenty fathoms of water the other Powers increased their building programs of every type of ship not positively limited by the Washington Conference. They range from the smallest craft to the formidable 10,000-ton cruiser, with ten 8-inch guns and twelve 21-inch torpedo tubes. These cruisers have a speed of from 30 to 35 miles an hour, as against the battleship speed of 18 or 20 miles an hour. They clear a path over which the swift destroyers in large masses can operate against our battleships with their dense torpedo salvos, which may be launched at a distance of six miles from their targets. Furthermore, as Mr. Balfour has said, they are the eyes and ears of the battle fleet. But our fleets have neither eyes nor ears, because we have only ten cruisers completed, two more just laid down, three more just appropriated for; whereas Great Britain in 1931 will have at least fifty-four cruisers and Japan at least twenty-seven. The American people in maintaining their defenses at sea naturally did not anticipate such a situation. Unless some rapid construction takes place within four years we are likely to be in the fourth place in cruisers. Here is the statement as to the present cruiser situation:

THE PRESENT CRUISER SITUATION

	United States.		British Empire.		Japan.		France.		Italy.	
Light Cruisers, First Line.	No.	Ton'ge.	No.	Ton'ge.	No.	Ton'ge.	No.	Ton'ge.	No.	Ton'ge.
Built	10	75,000	40	194,290	19	102,005	3	16,731	8	30,784
Building	2	20,000	11	110,000	6	54,200	6	53,619	2	20,000
Authorized and appropriated for.	3	30,000	3	28,000	..	.....	1	10,000	..	.....
TOTAL	15	125,000	54	332,290	25	156,205	10	80,350	10	50,784
Authorized but not appropriated for	3	.....	9	.....	..	.....	2	.....	..	.....

The League of Nations has permitted America to participate in a conference at Geneva to prepare the way for further

agreement upon the limitation of auxiliary war vessels. Rear Admiral Jones, one of our representatives at that conference, has quite recently informed the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives that, according to unofficial information, the British Government proposes to have, before its program is completed, sixty-four cruisers. The number Japan proposes to build is not known and is not likely to be discovered. In making these statements I bear in mind all the time what both Great Britain and Japan said about the race of naval armament having come to an end. Admiral Long, another representative at this same conference at Geneva, asked what it had accomplished, replied: "It seems to me this conference did a good deal in educating the people that the great question of limitation of armament is a very difficult question to solve."

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

The purpose of the conference at Geneva was to induce the different nations to fix a time when a further conference upon naval armament might be held and also to agree upon some method by which further reduction might be made. The conference remained in session five months. The American delegates were kept waiting so long before any results could be obtained that some of them left even before adjournment. It makes an American feel that he lives in a country other than his own

when he calmly and quietly reflects that our delegates had to wait five months for the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, Czecho-

slovakia, Finland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland to make up their minds to disagree completely with the great sea powers upon methods for limiting naval armament. The delegates even went so far as to declare that differences even in the methods of comparing naval forces were irreconcilable. Under the circumstances, little hope was held out by the American delegates that any successful result could be obtained.

Although I strongly advocate the adoption of any honorable method that will enable the nations of the world to break up many of their fighting machines, I, for one, am unwilling to consult with those nations that do not possess naval armament and have little prospect of ever obtaining any. We should be obliged to deal only with the nations that have sea power and not with those that have none and never expect to have any. Why include in an agreement nations that have neither ships nor ports with nations that have great sea armament? The conference at Geneva adjourned, agreeing to reconvene in the Spring to make another attempt to reconcile the differences on methods to be used in limiting armaments. Even this is but a preliminary conference, and it appears from Admiral Jones's testimony that it is not improbable that the final conference, if it ever should be held, will not take place until 1928.

So far as I am able to discover, the American delegates at the Geneva Conference were given the high privilege of stat-

ing their views on naval armaments on an equal footing with nations without even a seaport or war vessel. Why do not those other nations ask us, who have men, money and high spirit, exercising constant patience and forbearance, and earnestly insisting on peace throughout the whole world, willing to make any sacrifice within honor, what we are willing to do in the way of limitation of armament, rather than have us wait indefinitely to learn what they would have us do?

On the other hand, if we are to establish American naval power on a parity with Great Britain and Japan in the matter of cruiser, air and submarine strength, we should consider what that involves. In order that we might be on an equality with Great Britain we need 21 cruisers, 1 airplane carrier and 4 2,000-ton submarines, at a total cost of \$382,000,000. To be on an equality with Japan we need 14 cruisers, 1 airplane carrier, 19 2,000-ton submarines and 17 1,000-ton submarines, at a total cost of \$396,000,000. If we want to reach a straight 5-5-3 ratio with both Great Britain and Japan, we need 21 cruisers, 1 airplane carrier, 19 2,000-ton submarines and 17 1,000-ton submarines, at a total cost of \$508,000,000, this amount being distributed as follows: Twenty-one cruisers, \$336,000,000; 1 airplane carrier, \$26,000,000; 19 2,000-ton submarines, \$95,000,000; 17 1,000-ton submarines, \$51,000,000. This is based upon what Great Britain has now built, is building and has authorized.



Naval Powers' Reception of the American Proposal

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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DOUBTLESS it may be several years before we shall know whether the disarmament proposals made by President Coolidge have helped or hindered the ultimate solution of the problem. It cannot be doubted that they represent an honest effort to suggest a method by which an agreement may be reached, but in France and Italy the proposals are regarded as an attempt to force their hands.

During all the sessions of the Preparatory Commission it has been evident that the point of view of the Continental powers has been radically different from that of Great Britain and the United States. They have held that in modern warfare the various arms, those on land, on the water and in the air, are interdependent, each co-operating with the other in their contribution to possible victory. We, however, differently circumstanced geographically and politically, look on the problem from another angle, and have maintained that, their functions being so different, it is possible to discuss limitation of one without involving the other. The Washington Conference of 1922 was able to do little more than to secure agreements regarding capital ships, a type of war vessel of debatable utility, enormous cost and of little interest to the Continental powers. The identic notes, dispatched by President Coolidge to London, Paris, Rome and Tokyo and reported to Congress in his message of Feb. 10, suggested the extension of the principle governing the Washington Conference and its application to the control of cruisers, destroyers and submarines, and proposed tentatively as a basis for discussion that the 5-5-3 ratio be applied as regards the United States, Great Britain and Japan, leaving for discussion at Geneva the ratios of France and Italy.

The replies (published in this magazine) show that France was the first to state her

views on the President's proposals. It must not be forgotten that acceptance would have involved the complete abandonment of the position which she has consistently taken before the Preparatory Commission—namely, that national armament is a unit and that it cannot be separated into its parts; that the effectiveness of a nation at war must depend on all of them. Briand declined to be placed in the pit that Coolidge had dug for him. The Japanese reply, which came next, cordially welcomed the proposals and expressed willingness to take part in negotiating and concluding an agreement on the subject. The Italian note contained, as had been expected, a firm refusal. Presumably because of the necessity to consult the Dominions, the British reply did not reach Washington until March 1. It was cordial in tone, but cautious in substance.

As soon as the replies of France and Italy had made impossible a Five-Power treaty, the Administration let it be known that they were canvassing the possibility of a Three-Power pact. More recently, however, they have expressed a doubt of its practicability. The negotiation of such a treaty would in many respects be more difficult than that originally planned, as the attitude of France and Italy toward it would be uncertain. Great Britain, at least, cannot afford to disregard their naval plans. The absence of France and Italy from the negotiation would increase the complexity of an adjustment of the naval treaty with the plans for general disarmament. The final sentence of the British reply makes it evident that they had this consideration as fully in mind as did the French and Italians.

The discussion provoked by President Coolidge's action has roused the advocates of large navies in all the countries concerned. In each the claim is made that the



WHAT IS HIDDEN IN UNCLE SAM'S PEACE PALM

—Kladderatsch, Berlin

existing navy is far below that necessary for "defense." More cruisers, more submarines, more destroyers are needed if the country is to be safe.

Despite the expressed disapproval of President Coolidge, Congress, on Feb. 25, provided an appropriation of \$450,000 for the initial work of construction of the three cruisers authorized in 1924. As the bill gives the President discretion as to the beginning of construction, this may be regarded as a gesture; but the debate on the appropriation made it evident that the "big-navy" party has a large voting strength.

In accepting the invitation to take part in the conference at Geneva to consider the private manufacture of arms, the State De-

partment insisted that any agreement reached, to be effective, must cover governmental as well as private manufacture.

A committee of experts, appointed by the Preparatory Commission to study the subject of military and naval budgets, met in Paris on Feb. 19. Although the American delegates on the commission have maintained the position that a comparison of military and naval budgets is inequitable (and we were not represented on the experts' committee in consequence), the majority of the commission held that it is desirable to provide at least for a means by which such comparisons may be made. The committee is to report to the commission a plan for a uniform budget for war expenditures which will make difficult the

present practice of concealing military appropriations in other sections of the budget.

Another conference, held in Brussels on Feb. 13, considered the relation of civil to military aviation. It was the unanimous

opinion of the experts that some means must be found for their dissociation, as otherwise the development of commercial aviation will be hampered by national jealousies and military aviation cannot be controlled.

Text of Replies to the American Memorandum

THE following are the replies of the four other Powers signatory to the Washington naval treaty—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—to President Coolidge's proposals of Feb. 10, 1927, for the further limitation of naval armament:

THE BRITISH REPLY

(Text of Great Britain's Reply to Memorandum of Feb. 10, 1927, Handed to the American Ambassador at London by the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, Feb. 25, 1927.)

His Majesty's Government in Great Britain received with cordial sympathy the invitation of the Government of the United States of America to take part in a conversation at Geneva on the further limitation of naval armament.

The view of His Majesty's Government upon the special geographical position of the British Empire, the length of inter-imperial communications and the necessity for the protection of its food supplies are well known and, together with the special conditions and requirements of the other countries invited to participate in the conversation, must be taken into account.

His Majesty's Government are nevertheless prepared to consider to what extent the principles adopted at Washington can be carried further, either as regards the ratio in different classes of ships between the various powers or in other important ways. They therefore accept the invitation of the Government of the United States of America and will do their best to further the success of the proposed conversation.

They would, however, observe that the relationship of such a conversation to the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva would require careful adjustment.

THE FRENCH REPLY

(Text of France's Reply to Memorandum of Feb. 10, 1927, Handed to Ambassador Herrick on Feb. 15 by Foreign Minister Briand.)

The American Government has been good enough to address to the signatories of the naval convention of Washington of 1923 and as one of them to the French Government a memorandum proposing to negotiate at Geneva between the five powers, without ceasing to be disinterested in the general work of the reduction of armaments carried on for the last ten months by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, an agreement with a view to limiting from now on naval armament in the categories of vessels which are not included in the Treaty of Washington.

The French Government wishes, first of all, to say how much it appreciates the lofty aim of the American note. The generous idealism which inspires it is in accordance with its own views. No power could be more appreciative of President Coolidge's noble initiative than France, which never ceases to give proofs of her resolutely pacific will.

It desires equally to show how much it has appreciated the friendly attention of the Federal Government in leaving its proposals flexible in an endeavor to take into account the special conditions and requirements of the Continental powers. The American Government has thus shown that it is quite aware of the very clear position taken by the French Government in the question of naval disarmament. It will therefore not be astonished to see French opinion preoccupied with its duties as a member of the League of Nations and with its moral obligation toward all the powers which form part of it.

On its part the Government of the republic would have been happy to be able to adhere to these proposals without reserve and the entire French nation would have congratulated itself on seeing the two countries again associated in an enterprise so consistent with their common traditions. But an attentive study of the American proposals has convinced the Government of the republic that in their present form they risk compromising the success of the task already commenced at Geneva with the active help of the representatives of the American Government.

Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations has made the general limitation of armaments one of the essential duties of the League. Without doubt in 1921 the powers to whom the United States are today appealing already united their efforts to realize by themselves a limitation of naval armaments. At the time it took place the calling of the Washington Conference was fully justified, but circumstances today are different. The League of Nations has begun its task: the conclusion of an arms traffic convention, the elaboration of a convention on the private manufacture of war materials, the convocation finally of a Preparatory Commission, with a view to the meeting of a conference for the general limitation of armaments, a commission to which all the countries of the world have been invited and in which the greater part of them participate, mark so many decisive stages toward the aim fixed by the Covenants. Without doubt the American Government is not thinking of withdrawing from the task undertaken, the efficient collaboration, which for nearly a year its delegates have contributed; it promises, on the contrary, to continue it. But its proposal has, nevertheless, as a practical result the



THE MILITANT MULE
—Editors Feature Service

divesting of the Preparatory Commission of an essential question which figures on its program and the constitution on the side of a special conference in which only a few powers should participate and whose decisions under penalty of being in vain must at least in their principles be later recognized as valid by powers which would not have been admitted to discuss them.

To decide today without consulting the League of Nations on a change of method and to seek a partial solution of the problem in the endeavor rather to maintain the actually existing situation than to determine the conditions proper to ensure the security of each one and, furthermore, to limit this effort to a few powers would be both to weaken the authority of the League of Nations, so essential to the peace of the world, and to injure the principle of the equality of States, which is at the very base of the Covenant of Geneva and to which the French Government for its part remains firmly attached.

The principle of equality of the powers, great or small, is one of the recognized rules of the League of Nations. Technical committees have met; all the maritime powers have participated in their labors, and they have pointed out their needs for defense. How could it be admitted that, at the moment when the Preparatory Commission is called upon to formulate the conclusion of its discussions, the five most important maritime powers should take cognizance of the question and, as far as it concerns them, give it such a definitive solution as to prejudice the final decisions in regard to the entire naval problem?

In fact, moreover, the categories, to which the new limitation should apply, are those which have for the majority of powers the greatest interest. An agreement limited to a few navies could be explained for battleships; practically they are the only ones that possess

any. It is otherwise when the question of light vessels is considered. All the navies of the world have an interest in being associated with the deliberations on this important problem.

As for the French Government which, in the question of limitation of armament, is interested only from the defensive point of view, as M. Briand declared to Mr. Hughes on Dec. 18, 1921, and which in this respect must interest itself both in the protection of its coasts and in the safety of its maritime communications, its delegates at Geneva have defended and made prevail in the technical commissions two general principles: on the one hand, that there can be no undertaking to limit naval armaments without taking into consideration the solutions proposed for land and air armaments; on the other hand, especially from the naval point of view, that the limitation of armament can result only from the allocation to each power of an aggregate tonnage that it remains free to distribute best according to its necessities.

The American proposal sets aside at the very outset these two principles, the consequence of which would be that the French Government, which has taken its stand openly before all the nations represented at Geneva, could adopt them only by abandoning its point of view. It would thus contradict itself by publicly recanting.

Would the method proposed be at least such as to obtain the desired result? The precedent of the Rome conference in 1924 does not permit this hope. That conference, in fact, did not succeed in securing the adoption by the powers not represented at Washington of the principles which had been there established for battleships, still less in having them extended to the other categories of vessels. These powers would not be less mindful of their own interests whenever they should again be asked to accept principles resulting from decisions which would have been decided upon without them.

This last objection has without doubt been



THAT LETS US OUT
—N. E. A. Service

considered by the American Government, and if it has thought it necessary to set it aside, it is because of its opinion that, if the problems of disarmament are not separated, there is no hope of a practical result in the near future. The French Government thinks, on the contrary, that in the present state of the surveys on which the Preparatory Commission is engaged, the latter can at its next session, and on condition that the nations represented bring like itself a firm resolve to succeed, arrive at decisions which would permit the meeting of the general conference on disarmament to take place with a genuine chance of success.

The French Government, having considered the different aspects of the American proposal, conscious of the duties imposed on it as a member of the League of Nations, fearing any undermining of the authority of the latter and convinced that no durable work of peace can be built without the common consent of all the powers called on the same grounds to defend their rights and interests, thinks that it is at Geneva and by the Preparatory Commission itself, in which we have been so happy to see the delegates of the United States participate, that the American proposal can be effectually examined.

THE ITALIAN REPLY

(Translation of the Text of Italy's Reply to Memorandum of Feb. 10, 1927, Handed to the American Ambassador at Rome, Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, on Feb. 21, 1927.)

The Italian Government has submitted to serious examination the memorandum handed on Feb. 10 by the Ambassador of the United States of America to the Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The said memorandum explains the principles which have inspired the Washington Government in proposing that, before the contemplated international conference for the reduction and the limitation of armaments, negotiations be initiated between the five powers signatory to the Treaty of Washington of 1922 for the purpose of studying the limitation of certain categories of naval armaments not covered by said treaty.

The Italian Government appreciates fully the high spirit which has guided the President of the United States of America in addressing his message to Congress on the same day in which the memorandum of the American Government was handed to the Governments of the great powers interested. The appreciation of the Italian Government has all the greater value since Italy has always associated herself with every international activity tending to establish upon a solid base the tranquillity and peace of the world.

That spirit which has guided Mr. Coolidge is, so to say, the heritage of the Italian Government and people.

Italy, in fact, has not only adhered to the Washington Conference but has concluded during the past five years more treaties of friendship and arbitration than those stipulated by any other European State. Her actual military expenses and, above all, her naval budget, in which there is appropriated 300,000,000 lire annually, equal to about thirteen millions of dollars for new naval construction, demonstrate clearly that the "far-

reaching building programs" alleged in the message certainly cannot refer to Italy.

The American Government proposes in its memorandum that the Italian Government empower its representative on the Preparatory Disarmament Commission to initiate negotiations at Geneva with a view to concluding agreements which, in anticipation of a worldwide limitation of naval, land and air armaments, shall regulate naval armaments, by limiting the construction of those lesser vessels which were not contemplated in the accords of 1922.

As regards such a proposal the Government of His Majesty must, above all, state that in principle and as far as concerns the continent of Europe its point of view is that there exists an undeniable interdependence of every type of armament of every single power, and, furthermore, that it is not possible to adopt partial measures between only the five large naval powers. The Italian Government thinks that the limitation of armament, to be efficacious to the ends referred to by Mr. Coolidge, should be universal and recalls in this connection that the example of Washington was not accepted by the minor naval powers, and that the conference held at Rome in February, 1924, for the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty to the powers not signatory thereto was a failure.

Then, as concerns Italy more specifically, the Italian Government believes it can invoke the same geographical reasons referred to in the message of President Coolidge. If the United States, by reason of their geographical position ("our favored geographical position") has been able to reduce land armaments to the minimum, Italy by reason of its unfavorable geographical position cannot expose itself without grave risks to a binding limitation of its maritime armament, which is already insufficient to the needs of its defense.

Italy has, in fact, only three lines of communication with the rest of the world, three obligatory routes, through Suez, Gibraltar and the Dardanelles, for provisioning itself.

Italy has an enormous coast development with populous cities and vital centres on the coast or a short distance from it, with two large islands, besides the Dodecanese, all of which are linked to the peninsula by lines of vital traffic.

Italy has four important colonies to protect, two of which are beyond the Suez Canal.

In fact, Italy must also consider the other nations which face on or can appear in the Mediterranean, particularly favored by their geographical position amid essential lines of communication, and which have under construction many units of various types or are elaborating naval programs of great strength.

For the reasons above stated the Government of His Majesty feels confident that the Government of the United States will take into account the reason why Italy cannot, to its regret, accede to the proposal contained in the memorandum of Feb. 10.

THE JAPANESE REPLY

(Text of Japan's Reply to Memorandum of Feb. 10, 1927, Handed to the Secretary of State on Feb. 19 by His Excellency, Tsuneo Matsudaira, the Japanese Ambassador.)

The Japanese Government have given care-



EUROPE'S LATEST TROUBLE

Uncle Sam: "The French franc is rising; the English coal strike is over, and Germany is normal. Where does the shoe pinch now?"
Europe: "In the Italian boot."

—Berlingske Tidende, Copenhagen

ful consideration to the memorandum of the American Embassy at Tokyo, dated Feb. 10, defining the attitude of the United States on the general problem of disarmament and suggesting that the representatives of the five powers signatories of the Washington Naval Treaty about to participate in the forthcoming session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva shall be empowered to negotiate and to conclude an agreement among those five powers for the limitation of armament in the classes of naval vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty.

The Japanese Government fully share with the American Government the views expressed in that memorandum on the desirability of an agreement calculated to complete the work of the Washington Conference for the prevention of competitive naval building. They cordially welcome the initiative taken by the American Government for the institution among the five powers of negotiations looking to such desirable ends. They will be happy to take part in those negotiations through their representatives invested with full powers to negotiate and to conclude an agreement on the subject.

In view, however, of the supreme importance of the problem to be discussed and determined the Japanese Government find it essential that at least a part of the Japanese delegation shall be specially sent from Tokyo. Considering the length of time required for the nec-

essary preparations as well as for the journey from Tokyo to Geneva, it will obviously be impossible for the Japanese representatives to assist at the negotiations should that meeting be held simultaneously with or immediately after the forthcoming session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission scheduled to be opened on March 21 next. Accordingly, the Japanese Government desire that the meeting of the powers signatories of the Washington Naval Treaty now suggested should take place on a date not earlier than June 1.

The Japanese Government are further gratified to learn that it is not the intention of the American Government at this time to put forward rigid proposals on the ratios of naval strength to be maintained by the several powers in the classes of vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty. In order to insure the success of the proposed negotiations it seems highly important that in the matter of these conditions of the limitation of armament all parties to the negotiations should approach the subject with an open mind, being always guided by the spirit of mutual accommodation and helpfulness consistent with the defensive requirements of each nation. The Japanese Government confidently hope that an adjustment will be reached in a manner fair and satisfactory to each of the participating powers and conducive to the general peace and security of the world.

President Coolidge's Veto of Farm Relief Bill

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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THE second session of the Sixty-ninth Congress, which closed on March 4, saw the development of a distinct rift between Congress and the President in regard to farm relief and naval preparedness, and an equally marked split in both the Republican and Democratic Parties regarding these and other matters of public policy. On hardly any legislative matter of importance was either party able to maintain a united front, and the realization that what was said and done during the session would have an important bearing upon the electoral campaign of 1928 did not avail to insure party harmony.

Of the two issues most prominently in dispute, that of farm relief was easily first in general public interest. The McNary-Haugen bill, which passed the Senate on Feb. 11 by a vote of 47 to 39, was approved by the House of Representatives on Feb. 17, in the form in which it came from the Senate, by a substantial majority of 214 to 178. In the House, as previously in the Senate, the final vote disrupted party lines, 113 Republicans, 97 Democrats, 2 Farmer-Labor and 1 Socialist voting for the bill, and 108 Republicans and 70 Democrats voting against it. The vote was a victory for the farm bloc, which "took the steam-roller out of the hands of the regular leaders and bowled over the opposition at nearly every turn." All efforts to amend the bill as it came from the Senate were defeated, the object being to save the bill from delay and probable failure in a conference committee.

On Feb. 25, in an elaborate and forcible message, President Coolidge vetoed the bill. The message was a sweeping condemnation of the bill in principle as well as in details. "The difficulty with this particular measure," Mr. Coolidge declared, "is that it is not framed to aid farmers as a whole, and it is, furthermore,

calculated to injure rather than promote the general public welfare." It "upholds as ideals of American farming the men who grow cotton, corn, rice, swine, tobacco or wheat and nothing else," and extends to them special favors "at the expense of the farmer who has toiled for years to build up a constructive farming enterprise to include a variety of crops and live stock."

The governmental price-fixing which the bill clearly contemplated was characterized by Mr. Coolidge as "an economic folly from which this country has every right to be spared." The "so-called equalization fee" is "not a tax for purposes of revenue in the accepted sense," but "a tax for the special benefit of particular groups." Moreover, instead of restraining or regulating production the bill would increase it, and the surplus crops, dumped upon the markets of the world, would encourage foreign competition and, eventually, increased importations of agricultural products. No limitations were imposed by the bill upon the Federal board which was to administer price-fixing, and prices would be raised "without any restraints imposed by the anti-trust laws." Serious objection to the measure was also found in the elaborate and expensive administrative machinery which it entailed, and in the power which the board would have to make contracts beyond even the \$250,000,000 which the bill appropriated.

Attached to the veto message, and forming a part of it, was an elaborate opinion of Attorney General Sargent condemning the bill as unconstitutional. The opinion emphasized the contentions that the bill delegated to the Federal board the power to fix prices without laying down any rules by which prices should be determined; that it infringed upon the appointing power of the President by requir-



**AJAX COOLIDGE DEFIES THE
LIGHTNING**

—Adams Service

ing him to select the members of the board from district lists nominated by "certain committees or individuals who are not even officers of the United States"; that the decisions of the Supreme Court afforded no ground for believing that Government price-fixing would be upheld; and that the enforced contribution of an equalization fee, under which citizens would be compelled "to participate in business operations by requiring them to contribute to the loss and expense thereof," would contravene the Fifth Amendment in that it would take property without due process of law.

The veto message, which had been generally expected, was received with satisfaction in the East, and with less evidence of irritation in the agricultural sections of the West and South than the predictions of supporters of the bill in Congress had indicated. On the stock exchanges, where the veto had apparently been discounted, the prices of securities made no

response, but prices of wheat, corn and cotton rallied in the Chicago markets. The attitude of the radical farmer element of the West, on the other hand, was illustrated by the Legislature of Iowa, which adopted on Feb. 25, by overwhelming majorities, a resolution asking Congress to override the veto, and acclaiming the McNary-Haugen bill as "the most needed economic legislation for the good of the whole United States that has at any time been before Congress." Sixty-one of the 108 members of the lower house also signed a petition urging former Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois to be a Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1928.

THE MCFADDEN BILL

Although the McFadden banking bill, a hang-over from the first session, aroused much less public interest than the McNary-Haugen bill, the formation in Congress of a coalition by the supporters of the two measures had the effect of linking banking and farm relief in a common program. The passage of the McFadden bill in the Senate was achieved by parliamentary tactics rare in the history of that body. On



THIRD TERM?

—New York World

Feb. 12, following a vote of 58 to 9 making the bill the order of the day as unfinished business, fifty-eight Senators at once petitioned for the application of the closure in order to limit debate and insure an early vote. The closure was ordered on Feb. 15 by a vote of 65 to 18, and the next day the Senate, by a vote of 71 to 17, accepted the conference report on the bill, already agreed to by the House.

The McFadden bill, an omnibus measure long in controversy among bankers and financial experts as well as in Congress, was not an Administration bill, but it had the endorsement of Secretary Mellon and other advisers of the President, and on Feb. 25 Mr. Coolidge approved it. Rumors of improper lobbying in connection with the passage of the bill, including the alleged expenditure of more than \$100,000 by "a certain group of bankers" opposed to the so-called Hull amendments, led Senator Glass of Virginia, one of the reputed authors of the Federal Reserve act and a member of the committee which reported the bill, to introduce on Feb. 16 a resolution calling for an investigation of the American Bankers Association.

THE THREE NEW CRUISERS

The cruiser bill, a third measure which found Congress in opposition to the President, was also carried through by the joint efforts of Republicans and Democrats. The rejection by France and Italy of Mr. Coolidge's suggestion of a conference for the further limitation of naval armaments encouraged the friends of the bill in the



THE BIG SNOWSTORM

—Adams Service

Senate to persist in their attempt to force concurrence by the House in a Senate amendment, appropriating \$1,200,000 for the construction of three cruisers. On Feb. 24, by a vote of 208 to 172, a coalition of Republicans and Democrats, aided by Speaker Longworth, parted company with the President by favoring immediate construction, but at the same time reduced the appropriations to \$450,000. The vote was a complete reversal of the position taken by the House on Jan. 7, when the appropriation for construction was defeated by 183 to 161. The amendment was accepted by the Senate on Feb. 25 without a division. As the appropriation was a part of the general Naval Appropriation bill, the opposition thus made sure that the cruiser program would not be defeated save by the veto of the bill as a whole.



THE POLITICIAN'S CURSE

—N. E. A. Service

President Coolidge signed the bill on March 2.

COMPARISONS AND RESULTS

A comparison of Mr. Coolidge's recommendations in his annual message in December and the legislative record of the session shows a considerable impairment of Mr. Coolidge's leadership. A proposal of farm relief was met only by the McNary-Haugen bill; the suggestion of a tax rebate to offset the growing Treasury surplus found no favor; and no specific authorization was granted for the alternative suggestion of applying the increased surplus to the reduction of the debt. A bill for the regulation of radio transmission, approved on Feb. 23, added another to the long list of Federal boards whose number Mr. Coolidge has repeatedly urged should be curtailed, and a request for authority to deal with a threatened coal strike was not considered.

On the other hand, the opposition which the Administration encountered in Congress was not an indication of Democratic strength. The attempt of Democratic leaders to bring about tax reduction was a failure, and the announcement on March 1 that a reorganization of the Tariff Commission and a revision of the tariff would be sought in the next Congress represented

no apparent enthusiasm for either subject in the country. On the issues of farm relief and branch banking, Democrats as well as Republicans were divided, and even the coalition which supported those measures dissolved when the members of the farm bloc and other disaffected Republicans in the House, after threatening to rebel against the control of the "Big Four" (Speaker Longworth, Chairman Snell of the Rules Committee, Representative Tilson of Connecticut, Republican floor leader, and Representative Begg of Ohio), dropped their opposition, and at a party caucus on Feb. 21 acquiesced in the nomination of Speaker Longworth, Mr. Tilson, and other House officers for the same positions in the next Congress.

The session ended with the usual rush of last-minute business, the passage of the annual appropriation bills, and the disposal of few special matters of a political nature. The case of Colonel Frank L. Smith, Senator-elect from Illinois, was allowed to lapse, as far as admission to a seat in the existing Congress went, because of the serious illness of Colonel Smith, but the right of Senator Gould of Maine to a seat was affirmed. The Judiciary Com-



IT'S EASY TO SIT ON A FENCE AND CRITICIZE

—Philadelphia Inquirer



AMERICA'S REJECTION OF THE LAUSANNE TREATY

The Other Powers: "Go away, now, if you like, you crusty old fellow, but you will come back to it in the end, Uncle Sam."

—P'st, Constantinople

mittee of the House decided on Feb. 28 that the charges against Federal Judge Frank Cooper of New York, involving alleged misconduct in prohibition enforcement, did not warrant impeachment proceedings, but the report was nevertheless a virtual condemnation of his conduct. The "sigh of relief" that is sometimes heard in business circles when a session of Congress closes was not in evidence this year, most business leaders having apparently concluded that no radical legislation would be enacted in the short session, and that, if it was, President Coolidge would veto it.

THE RIFT IN THE PHILIPPINES

The first outstanding political development of 1927 in the Philippines has been the expulsion of Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate and Nationalist leader, from the Filipino Veterans' Association, headed by General Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the Filipino insurrection a quarter of a century ago. Aguinaldo, who founded this organization six or seven years ago, was, as usual, re-elected its President at the annual meeting early in February.

This incident terminated the first stage

in a feud that has been in progress between these two foremost Filipino leaders for almost four years. Ever since Quezon announced his policy of non-cooperation with General Wood following the wholesale Cabinet resignation of 1923, Aguinaldo has been defiant of the Nationalist leader.

Late in 1925 Quezon organized his National Supreme Council through a coalition of the two leading Filipino political parties and invited Aguinaldo to become Chairman of one of the important committees. Aguinaldo refused, reiterating his previous determination not to take an active part in politics and calling for a dissolution of the existing political parties. Quezon then tried to stampede the Veterans against Aguinaldo during their 1926 convention, but failed in the attempt.

Throughout 1926 Quezon and Aguinaldo



ANYBODY CAN KILL A DEAD LION
—Philadelphia Inquirer

carried on campaigns for favor with the Veterans, whose influence is considerable in local politics, and Quezon's followers formed a rival organization known as the Legion of Filipino Veterans. Quezon attacked Aguinaldo's patriotism because of the latter's friendship for General Wood, while Aguinaldo accused Quezon of being insincere in his espousal of immediate independence.

At this year's convention, Aguinaldo demonstrated his hold upon the Veterans—the large majority of whom had remained loyal to his organization—by causing the expulsion of Quezon. The latter then issued a statement branding this action as a "farce" and denying that he had ever affiliated himself with the Filipino Veterans' Association, most of whose members, he claimed, were job-seeking politicians.

United States Intervention in Nicaragua

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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AFTER the recapture of the City of Chinandega by the Conservatives (Feb. 9) the Liberals began massing their forces in the vicinity of Matagalpa, a city of great strategic importance approximately 100 miles northeast of Managua. It was reported on Feb. 13 that Conservative and Liberal forces in the vicinity of Matagalpa totaled 4,000 and 2,000 men, respectively, and the Liberals were reported on Feb. 24 to be centralizing their forces for an attack on Matagalpa or Granada.

A more positive policy in support of the Díaz Conservative Government than that previously followed was pursued by the Coolidge Administration throughout February. On Feb. 1 the Liberal Minister for Foreign Affairs at Puerto Cabezas announced that the United States naval officers had verbally informed him that the Coolidge Administration, having already recognized Díaz, would not "recognize any other Government until after legal elections of 1928," even though such a Government should gain "control of the entire country." In mid-February United States Secretary of the Navy Wilbur advised Representative Moore of Virginia that the United States at that time had in Nicaragua or in Nicaraguan waters 196 officers, 3,068 enlisted men, 5 cruisers, 5 destroyers and 1 minesweeper. Announcement that 1,600 more marines would be sent to Nicaragua

was made in Washington on Feb. 17, and three days later 800 marines were landed in Nicaragua. The Department of State explained that this action had been taken with "the full consent and approval" of the Díaz Government and that it had been "found advisable for the protection of American and foreign lives and property and to maintain communication between the legation and the legation guard at Managua and the sea." The United States Navy Department announced on Feb. 21 that 5,414 marines and sailors were then on duty in Nicaragua or en route there.

After the landing of additional marines naval officers of the United States on Feb. 21 extended the neutralization of Nicaraguan territory so as to include the important cities of Chinandega, León, and Loma, and the railway between Corinto and Managua. This action made a total of eight Nicaraguan cities thus neutralized, Matagalpa and Granada being the only two cities of any importance that had not been declared neutral zones by United States armed forces.

Various proposals for restoring peace in Nicaragua failed to achieve their aim during February. No official notice was taken by the United States of the offer of President Díaz (Feb. 9) to step aside for some one else in the interest of Nicaraguan unity, or of the similar offer of Dr. Sacasa, the Liberal leader, on Feb. 10, in case Díaz

would do likewise. Four days later (Feb. 14) Conservative Foreign Minister Pasos stated that: "The Government of Nicaragua does not believe possible any peace agreement, the fundamental basis of which might be the withdrawal of President Díaz." Nevertheless on Feb. 27 Dr. Sacasa reiterated his readiness to step aside, provided Díaz also withdrew.

Efforts of the United States Government to mediate between the warring factions were likewise futile. Following conferences in Managua with President Díaz, Admiral Latimer, in command of United States forces in Nicaragua, began conferences at Puerto Cabezas on Feb. 12 with Dr. Sacasa. Subsequently Admiral Latimer returned to the west coast of Nicaragua by way of the Panama Canal without announcing the outcome of his conference. The last day of February a definite movement for peace was launched in Managua with the tacit approval of the United States authorities. This plan called for a mission composed of three prominent Liberals and one "non-party neutral" to go, accompanied by an American marine and a naval officer, to confer in the interest of peace with General Moncada, commander of the Liberal forces in the vicinity of Matagalpa.

BRITISH CRUISER TO NICARAGUA.

The dispatch of a British cruiser to the west coast of Nicaragua aroused in the latter part of February extensive speculation as to its purpose. In a note to Secretary Kellogg on Feb. 19 Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador in Washington, drew "the attention of the United States Government to the menace to British lives and property arising from the present disturbances in Nicaragua." The Ambassador added that the British Government looked to the United States Government to extend to British subjects in Nicaragua "the same measure of protection as they afford to United States citizens in the districts now threatened by revolutionary disturbances." Four days later Minister Eberhardt at Managua advised the Department of State that the British Chargé had informed him that Great Britain was "reluctantly" contemplating the dispatch of a warship to Nicaragua "in the absence of guarantees from the Nicaraguan and

United States Governments for the protection of the lives and properties of British subjects" in Nicaragua. The following day (Feb. 24) Ambassador Howard advised the Department of State that the British Government was sending a warship to Corinto for "moral effect" and in order that it might "be a base of refuge for British subjects," and assurances were given that it was "not intended to land forces." In reply Secretary Kellogg on Feb. 24 and again on Feb. 26 assured Ambassador Howard that armed forces of the United States in Nicaragua would extend such protection as might be possible and proper to British subjects in the latter country. The British cruiser Colombo arrived at Corinto on Feb. 26. An Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 24 stated that British nationals in Nicaragua number 200 and that their investments total \$2,500,000.

Because of the Monroe Doctrine there had been some disposition to question the propriety of the dispatch of the British cruiser to Nicaragua, even though it was sent for protective and not coercive purposes. From Washington, however, it was authoritatively reported on Feb. 24 "that there was every indication in Administration circles that the dispatch of the British cruiser was not considered as a step in contravention of the Monroe Doctrine, nor, in fact, in opposition to American policy in Central America."

There were some who imputed ulterior motives to the dispatch of the British



Map of Nicaragua

cruiser to Nicaragua. On Feb. 23 Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, gave out the following statement:

Little Nicaragua, 600,000 people, is trying to maintain its duly elected President. It is already surrounded by a naval force sufficient to reduce it to ruin over night. In addition we are informed that the British Navy may move to the scene of conflict. There are a few Italians there. I suppose the Italian Navy will cease its watch upon the Mediterranean Sea and move to Caribbean waters. In the meantime what foreign lives have been lost or threatened? What property of foreigners destroyed?

From Panama it was reported on Feb. 25 that the Central American press was of the unanimous opinion that the dispatch of the British cruiser to Nicaragua "is merely a diplomatic move intended to strengthen the hand of the Washington Administration in the face of Congressional opposition to the permanency of American marines and bluejackets in Nicaragua."

The same day Dr. Vaca, Liberal Nicaraguan agent in Washington, ridiculed the excuse given for the dispatch of the British cruiser to Nicaragua and charged that "the great prominence and advertisement being given by Washington to this affair has been staged for propaganda, to help the American public believe that conditions in Nicaragua justify the recent activities of Latimer's forces against the constitutional armies."

CRITICISM OF COOLIDGE POLICY

The Nicaraguan-Mexican policy of the Coolidge Administration continued to be the subject of frequent criticism throughout February. Latin-American students in Paris on Feb. 1 called upon all Latin Americans, in protest against the policy of the United States in Central America, to adopt as their motto: "Boycott Yankee capital and products." A vigorous attack upon the "oil and mahogany" policy of the United States Government in Latin America was made by Senator Borah in a public address in Washington on Feb. 20, as follows:

Our policy should not rest solely upon mahogany and oil, or depend for its execution upon warships and marines. * * * People who acquire property in foreign

lands should at all times be willing to submit their property rights, if brought in question, either to the laws and courts of the country in which their property is situated or at most to arbitration. It ought to be regarded as a crime to defend by force and with American marines a title or a claim that cannot stand the inspection of an arbitrator. The American taxpayer should not be called upon to protect property or titles which claimants are unwilling to have adjudicated.

Resolutions regarded as expressing a lack of confidence in the Administration's Nicaraguan-Mexican policy were introduced in both the House of Representatives and the Senate at Washington on Feb. 22. A resolution introduced by Representative Moore requested the Department of State to furnish the House "with specific facts bearing upon the protection of American lives and property in Nicaragua which can be considered the basis of the action of our Government in making large additions to the armed forces" which it had previously sent to Nicaragua. In the Senate, Chairman Borah of the Committee on Foreign Relations introduced a resolution authorizing the latter committee or a sub-committee of the same "to investigate and study conditions and policies bearing upon the relationship between the Central American countries, Mexico, and the United States * * * to visit such countries, to sit during the recess of Congress," and to conduct hearings and make such expenditures as it might deem advisable. The Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 26 by a vote of 10 to 8 reported the resolution to the Senate after it had been amended so as to confine the activities of the committee within the limits of the United States.

A resolution endorsing the Coolidge policy in Nicaragua and Mexico was reported favorably by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Feb. 1 by a strict party vote, nine Republicans approving the resolution and five Democrats opposing it. This action of the committee, which came after its Democratic members had tried in vain to block the resolution until the Department of State might furnish it with desired information, inspired a vigorous attack upon the Administration's Latin-American policy by Represen-

tative Connally, Democratic member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on Feb. 2. Later, on Feb. 23, Representative Connally charged that the Latin-American policy of the United States was based upon the belief "that diplomacy is the agency of exploitation."

Aside from the action of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the only endorsement of the Nicaraguan policy of the Coolidge Administration in the House of Representatives was made by Representative Britten on Feb. 26.

With reference to the landing of additional marines in Nicaragua, the *New York Times* commented editorially on Feb. 23 as follows:

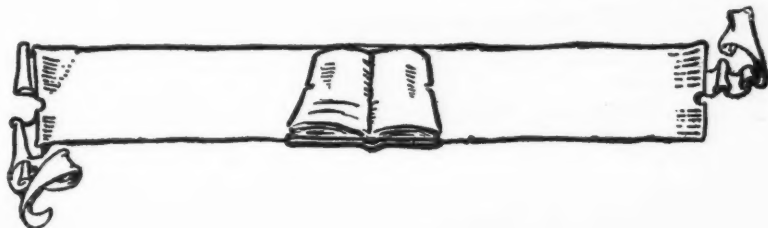
Americans must be all over the place in Nicaragua. * * * Apparently their "life and property" are scattered all up and down both coasts and far into the interior, for it is to protect our own citizens, so the State Department gravely assures the public, that eleven warships are patrolling Nicaraguan waters, while more than 5,000 marines and sailors are occupying or are about to occupy city after city in Nicaragua and are to guard various railroad lines. This, of course, is not intervention, for the Government at Washington declares that it is not. But it must look uncommonly like it to Nicaraguans.

TREATY PROPOSAL BY DIAZ

President Díaz proposed on Feb. 24 "a treaty of alliance between Nicaragua and the United States." This proposed treaty would assure to Nicaragua "sovereignty and independence, and the uninterrupted maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty," and to the American people "their rights under the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty to build an inter-oceanic canal through Nicaragua and to a naval base in

this country." In return for these guarantees the Díaz Government "would concede to the United States the right to intervene in Nicaragua whenever necessary, in order to make effective the guarantees mentioned." Asserting that "we have today * * * the intervention of American armed forces in our territory directed exclusively for the protection of American and foreign lives and property," Díaz stated that his Government desired to go further and derive "some definite and permanent advantage from American intervention * * * with clearly stated responsibilities and apparent benefits for the intervener and the people subject to the intervention."

On the basis of this argument in behalf of "constructive help from the United States," Díaz stated that his Government had in mind cooperation along three lines to enable it "(1) to effect the financial and economic rehabilitation of our country with the aid of an American financial adviser and a receiver general of revenue; (2) to preserve throughout the country peace and guarantee the security of individual rights and liberties under our Constitution and laws as well as the observance of the provisions of the treaty; (3) to improve the public health and general welfare of Nicaragua with the assistance of specially selected American experts." In the fourth place Díaz proposed that Nicaragua be granted a loan of \$20,000,000 for the construction of a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, for highways, for refunding the Nicaraguan debt, and for the settlement of claims arising from revolutionary activities. A fifth proposal was for an American military mission to bring into existence a constabulary force and for a period of ten years or more to train this corps.



Chile's New Anti-Bolshevist Government

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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POLITICAL unrest has been manifest in Chile since September, 1924, when a bloodless revolution engineered by a military junta of forty-three officers brought about the resignation of President Arturo Alessandri. The problems then created have remained unsolved. With the seizure of the reins of government on Feb. 9, 1927, by General Carlos Ibañez, matters were more or less brought to a head, with the result that the Cabinet of President Figueroa-Larrain resigned and a new Cabinet, headed by Señor Ibañez, was formed, which set about ridding the country of Bolshevism and radicalism—forces which the Premier declared had reduced Chile to the verge of ruin. The new Cabinet, as announced on Feb. 8, was made up as follows:

GENERAL CARLOS IBANEZ—Premier and Minister of the Interior.

CONRAD DIAZ GALLARDO (journalist, Liberal Party)—Foreign Affairs.

PAULO RAMIREZ (former Deputy and Minister, Radical)—Treasury.

GENERAL ORTIZ VEGA (Inspector General of the Army)—War.

AQUILES VERGARA (former Deputy, Radical)—Justice.

JOSE SANTOS SALAS (former Presidential candidate of Labor Party)—Public Health.

ARTURO ALEMPARTE (ex-Cabinet Minister, Liberal Nationalist Party)—Agriculture.

The new Cabinet urged the President not to resign his office. On Feb. 16 a decree signed by President Figueroa and Premier Ibañez proroguing the special session of Congress, and providing that Congressional committees should continue to function until another special session was called, was approved by the Cabinet. The new Cabinet began at once its avowed policy—to stamp out radicalism. General Ibañez in his first official declaration (Feb. 13) stated that he would not tolerate communistic doctrines in Chile. In this position he was supported by *El Mercurio* and *La Nacion*, two powerful Chilean

newspapers. The Communist paper, *La Jornada*, was suppressed by Government decree.

The Premier began at once to deport radical sympathizers, and on Feb. 25 a special train bearing one hundred of these exiles started for an unknown destination. Among the banished citizens were Señor Enrique Matta Figueroa, a nephew of the President; Manuel Rivas Vicuna, a former Premier; Rafael Gumucio, director of the Conservative paper *Diario Ilustrado*, and formerly President of the Chamber of Deputies, and Santiago la Barca, a radical Deputy. Speculation was rife as to their final destination, and it was current report that they would be sent to Easter Island, 2,000 miles off the coast of Chile, to prevent them from continuing propaganda in other countries. Senators Ladislao Errazuriz and Manuel Hidalgo were arrested and imprisoned.

Overriding the decision of the Supreme Court suspending the deportation order against Rivas Vianan until its constitutionality could be examined, the Government arrested him and ordered him to prepare for deportation. The authorities also arrested Felipe Urzua, Presiding Judge of the Court of Appeals, before which many of those arrested laid their cases and which is second in importance only to the High Court of Justice. In commenting on this arrest, General Ibañez declared that the deportation of Urzua was an example of what the Government intended to do to all Judges who refused to mete out justice. He charged that Judge Urzua had acted unscrupulously in delaying for more than a year the case against Ignacio Ugarte Ovalle, former manager of the Government Printing Office, accused of fraud. The Premier said furthermore:

Workers who retain their patriotism need

not be alarmed. The Government will protect their rights and the freedom of labor. Public opinion should have faith and confidence in the Government. From now on communism and anarchy will not be tolerated in Chile. The Government has decided to abandon the conciliatory attitude it has assumed heretofore and will exercise its power to the very limit in order to stamp out Bolshevism once for all.

In a list published Feb. 25, more than 300 persons, prominent in political circles, were designated for arrest.

Since politics and economics are inextricably connected, Chile faces serious economic difficulties. For many years she has derived from 40 to 60 per cent. of her national revenue from the export tax on nitrate, but reduced income from this source has recently necessitated other taxes, heretofore unnecessary and unknown. Chilean nitrate production declined from 377,000 long tons (in terms of pure nitrogen) in 1925 to 290,000 tons in 1926, and according to the *Wall Street Journal* shares of the five great nitrate companies have fallen on the London Stock Exchange from an aggregate quoted value of £3,578,000 on Jan. 1, 1925, to \$1,634,000 on Dec. 1, 1926. This decline is not due

to exhaustion of the beds, as, according to the 1923 report of the Inspector General of Nitrate Deposits, Chile's saltpeter resources are adequate to supply the world with raw materials for fertilizers or explosives for two centuries to come, even at the annually increasing rate of recent decades. It is the production of synthetic nitrogen by other countries which has destroyed Chile's natural monopoly. During 1926 the production of synthetic ammonia was equivalent to over 650,000 tons of pure nitrogen—more than twice the Chilean output. Artificial production of nitrogen may, moreover, be indefinitely increased as demand and prices make this profitable. However, new methods are eliminating waste in nitrate fields, and more economical management there may reduce the price of the natural product below the present cost of production for artificial nitrate.

In the meantime Chilean economic stability is threatened, and political instability follows close in the wake of economic disturbance. Chile's political problems cannot be solved until the country has stabilized its business conditions and evolved a better system of taxation.

British Parliamentary Program

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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WITH the reassembling of Parliament on Feb. 8, every important phase of the Government's policy, foreign and domestic, was officially expounded to the British people. The King's Speech, however, was brief and was criticized by the Opposition because it contained no reference to franchise reform, made no promise of factory legislation and outlined no definite measures for agricultural relief. Mr. MacDonald, indeed, asked, "Has any King's Speech ever intimated more plainly that his Majesty's advisers had nothing to advise his Majesty about?" The Prime Minister subsequently explained that as it was proposed to terminate the present session before Aug. 1,

the legislative program had included only proposals which had a fair chance of being enacted during the session.

The King's Speech expressed satisfaction at the entry of Germany into full membership in the League of Nations. This step was declared to have strengthened the League and furthered the restoration of normal international relations in Europe. The same policy which had led to the admission of Germany had also caused the termination of allied military control in that country as set up by the Treaty of Versailles. The statement that, "My Government will maintain our traditional

policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of China," was received with "ironical cheers" from the Opposition. The legislative program for the session included proposals for changing the "style and titles" of the sovereign and the title of Parliament as recommended by the Imperial Conference. The most controversial matter upon which legislation was proposed was that of industrial disputes. The King announced that Parliament would be asked to "define and amend" the law on this subject. During the subsequent debate Prime Minister Baldwin made it fairly clear that the Government intended only to amend the law with reference to the rights of unions in connection with strikes, and that for the present it would not touch the question of the money levy by the unions upon their members for political purposes. The gist of the Labor Party's position in the matter was that any reduction in the present legal rights of the unions would be fought to a finish; and that if the Government really wanted to maintain the industrial good-will necessary to a return to prosperity in Great Britain it had better not try to force such legislation through at this time. The issue between the Government and labor is, of course, that raised by the general strike of 1926. In the words of Sir John Simon who, though a Liberal, supported the Conservative proposal, "failing recantation of the heresy that Parliament was not the sovereign power, it would do no harm to amend, and still less to declare, the legal position of all bodies who might challenge it." The Labor amendment regretting the Government's proposal to alter the trade unions law was defeated on Feb. 14 by a majority of 178 votes.

One of the most important of the Government's proposals was its invitation to Parliament to revise and consolidate the existing laws relating to insurance against unemployment, commonly, but improperly, called the "dole." It was generally understood that the Government's bill would be based on the report of the Blanesburgh Committee, which was issued on Feb. 9. This body, headed by Lord Blanesburgh, Minister of Labor, was composed of representatives of all substantial elements in the

State, including labor, and it presented a unanimous report. Its members agreed that, "an unemployment insurance scheme, compulsory, and covering at least the persons covered by the State scheme, should be a permanent feature of our code of social legislation." A contributory system was proposed by the committee, which stressed the conviction that unemployment insurance should cover the great bulk of genuine unemployment, but "that it must never degenerate into the so-called 'dole,' or become a mere pension fund."

HOUSE OF LORDS REFORM

Among the subjects not mentioned in the King's Speech which seemed destined to occupy the attention of Parliament during this session may be mentioned House of Lords reform and relations with Russia. Discussion of the former subject was initiated by a private member's resolution declaring that it was desirable to remodel the upper house by increasing its representative element and decreasing its hereditary character. In the debate upon this resolution the Labor Party took the position that the proposed changes in the Lords were intended to gerrymander the Constitution in the interests of the Conservative Party, and that as that party had no popular mandate on Lords reform it had no constitutional right to legislate on the subject.

The most striking feature of the program of the Government, as set forth in the Speech from the Throne and further elucidated in the debate thereon, is its constructive character. Industrial disputes, unemployment insurance, the improvement of the position of leaseholders, poor law reform, factory legislation, agricultural relief—these are the most important subjects upon which the Parliament will be asked to legislate in this session and the one to follow in November. The Conservatives have always declared themselves to be the party of ordered progress in Great Britain. In thus grappling with some of the most fundamental problems of the modern industrial State Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin may have inaugurated a program which will place him alongside Disraeli and other Conservative leaders whose records have given real color to their party's claim.

France's Plans for Government Reform

By CARL BECKER

John Stambaugh Professor of History, Cornell University

THE general political and financial situation in France changed scarcely at all during February. The revenue of the State was adequate to all purposes, the situation of the Treasury continued to improve, and the franc maintained its level. From Jan. 1 to the last of February the public subscribed some 5,000,000,000 francs in treasury bonds, and after the available bonds were exhausted continued to deposit money in the Treasury. The debt of the State to the Bank of France was still further reduced by repayments at the rate of about 500,000,000 francs each week. One of the most important reforms of the Poincaré régime was the legislation authorizing the bank to issue new notes without reference to the legal limit, in exchange for gold and silver coin and foreign exchange, at rates chosen with respect to the market rates. The result has been that note issues have been expanded or contracted in accordance with the needs of the money market, so that, although during February long time capital was still scarce, market funds for short time were plentiful. Foreign trade statistics showed an increase of exports over imports, which was, however, due to the falling off of imports rather than to any absolute increase in exports.

The adjustment of prices and business to the rise in the franc, for which Premier Poincaré has been waiting, has taken place slowly if at all. Prices fell slightly during the month, but business depression and unemployment continued. In spite of the Premier's statement that public doles were decreasing, the official statistics of Feb. 18 showed an increase of 9,000 persons asking for State aid, making a total of 73,000, of which about two-thirds were in Paris. It was estimated that by April 1 the automobile industry alone would have lost some 2,000,000,000 francs as a result of the de-

pression. Three large concerns were recently closed down, and all the others except one were reduced to half time.

The Premier continued his former policy of reticence in respect to the question of stabilization. In response to questions in the Chamber of Deputies, he said on Feb. 18: "At the present, it [stabilization] is impossible, and no one can say whether it will be possible during the life of the present Ministry. Those who say it can be done now are either rash or unaware of the difficulties in the way of the measure. Legal stabilization is much more difficult than *de facto* stabilization. Furthermore, even if I had plans I would not divulge them, for the only way to avoid speculation is to leave everybody in complete ignorance." The Premier's capacity to leave every one in ignorance of his plans is undoubted, and why legal stabilization is more difficult than *de facto* stabilization appeared to be a mystery to many competent judges. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Premier was deterred not so much by the inherent difficulties as by the desire to push the franc still higher if and when business and prices became adjusted to the present level.

Meantime the Chamber was occupied during the month with various measures, chief of which was the question of electoral reform. The Government project for reform contemplated a reduction of the Deputies in the Chamber from 584 to 574, and a redivision of the country into districts of about 100,000 people each, this being a return to the method of election by *scrutin d'arrondissement*. In the Commission on Electoral Reform appointed by the Chamber differences of opinion developed, chiefly between the Radicals and the Socialists. M. Renaudel proposed on Feb. 3 that the Chamber be asked to discuss before a fixed date the report on Proportional

Representation prepared by M. Theobretin. According to the *Temps*, this was purely political tactics, dictated by the desire of the Socialists to embarrass the Government, and to force the Radicals to vote on a question in which the party would have to side with or against the Socialists. The proposal was defeated by a vote of 13 to 9, and in its stead the commission adopted two proposals of M. Bonnefous: (1) that the Chamber be not asked to discuss the question until the Government measure was ready; (2) that the Chamber, when it took up the question of electoral reform, should consider, not only the question of the election of Deputies, but also of Senators, as well as the question of woman suffrage. If the *Temps* is correct in its conclusions, this episode was but one feature of the play which has been going on for some time between the Radicals and the Socialists. The Radicals have apparently been "flirting" with the Socialists with a view to renewing the old cartel in the approaching elections, while the Socialists have held aloof, refusing to be enticed, at least until the Radicals make it more explicit as to where they stand on matters involving party principles.

But the question of electoral reform had evidently a wider significance than one of mere party tactics, since considerable general discussion of the form of government in France developed during the month, criticism running along two main lines. First, that the Chamber of Deputies has too much power and too little responsibility, resulting inevitably in rapid change of ministries and the tendency to play politics on every occasion. As a remedy for this situation, M. Jouvenel made the interesting proposal that the Prime Minister be chosen by the Chamber instead of by the President. This, he maintained, would check the tendency of the Chamber to displace ministries by imposing on it greater responsibility for choosing them. On the other hand, M. Benoist, another critic of the Chamber, would check

its power by borrowing some features of the American system: viz., by intrusting to a court some such power of checking legislation and interpreting the law as the Supreme Court of the United States possesses. The second line which current criticism of the French Government took was the old complaint of too great centralization, and there was some discussion of what is called "regionalism"—the demand for a greater degree of local independence in administration and legislation. Doubtless the difficulties in Alsace and Lorraine have done something to bring this question to the front, but such complaints are of long standing; and it is unlikely that the present Government will undertake anything radical in the way of governmental reform.

Nothing appeared during the month to indicate that the Poincaré Ministry was not as solidly established as ever. In reply to criticism of the Government the Premier has merely to rehearse his successes in saving the country from financial chaos, and to ask what better policy than his own the critics would suggest. On Feb. 21 there occurred some protest against the Premier's proposal to make the first payment of £6,000,000 on the English debt agreement, and to make an additional payment to the United States of \$10,000,000. Deputy Auriol objected to this on the ground that no payments should be made until the Chamber had ratified the debt agreements, and that such payments, if made, would prejudice the question of ratification. Premier Poincaré denied the latter and said that the £6,000,000 paid to England was a trivial sum compared to the £650,000,000 owed, while the \$10,000,000 payment to the United States was well worth while if it relieved France from any immediate necessity of considering the question of ratification. The implication of the Premier's statement was clear; it was that he wished to postpone the whole question of ratification of the debt agreements to a more propitious time.

The Political Situation in Germany

By HARRY J. CARMAN

Associate Professor of History, Columbia University

A RATHER striking similarity exists today between the political situations in Germany and England, as in both cases strong conservative governments are opposed by powerful and growing labor parties and by numerically weak liberal parties. The present German Reichstag consists of 493 members. Of this number the Government controls 249, the coalition being made up of the Centre, the Bavarian People's Party (which incidentally is also clerical), the German People's Party and the Nationalists.

The parties definitely opposed to the Government can muster 223 votes. They are the Democratic Party, the Socialists, the Communists and the Fascists, or *Völkische Partei*. The Fascists are ultra-reactionary and ought, in the very nature of things, to sit on the extreme right of the House. Interestingly enough, however, they are allowed to sit at the left of the Nationalists because of the word "Socialist" in their formal title—"National Socialist Party," a connotation which is somewhat confusing and little used.

If the Economic Party is counted with the Opposition, the total Opposition vote would be 244, which leaves the Government with a majority of only five. To make matters worse, Dr. Wirth and the left wing of the Centre Party cannot always be relied upon, for Wirth has already threatened to vote against the Government on a number of measures. The Economic Party, or Economic Union, as it is sometimes called since it was formed from an amalgamation of the old Economic Party, the Middle Classes Party and the Bavarian Peasants' Party, has promised to observe an attitude of "benevolent neutrality." Whether it will actually do so remains to be seen. It purports to represent bourgeois interests, and its declaration of neutrality has, therefore, been interpreted by political leaders to mean that it can be regarded for all practical purposes as a Government party. It should

not be forgotten, however, that in a recent meeting it declared its hostility to both the big capitalist and the laborite whenever either failed to consider the interests of the "middle classes." In such a loose amalgamation internal differences may, of course, arise as to what the true interests of the "middle classes" are.

During the past month there has been considerable verbal speculation as to how long the new Government will last. In many quarters there is a strong feeling that it may continue to the end of next year, when the life of the present Reichstag expires. However, the Opposition may cause trouble at any minute, particularly if supported by the Left Wing Centerites and the Economic Party. Both the Democratic and the Socialist press, which are very influential, are extremely critical of every move the new Government makes. Moreover, both the Democrats and the Socialists, looking forward to the next Reichstag elections, have already launched special drives to "capture the souls of the peasants" in the hope that they may thereby deal a death blow to the Nationalist Party, which is essentially agrarian in character.

The Socialist organ *Vorwärts*, in outlining on Jan. 12 the Socialists' agrarian program, declared that they could never hope to achieve a real triumph in Germany unless the land workers lined up with the urban proletariat in support of a common economic and political platform.

Both the Socialists and the Democrats are laying great stress upon the need of seizing the great landed estates and placing them at the disposal of farm laborers wishing to have little farms of their own or of small farmers desirous of adding to their holdings. To bring such a condition about it is proposed to have the nation take over the larger estates, leaving no more than about 1,600 acres of tillable land and about 250 acres of forest land in the possession of a single individual.

The seized property would be paid for at the assessed valuation, and the State would then dispose of its purchases to small farmers, laborers and city folk who wish to "get back to land," making loans up to 90 per cent. of the land's value, with amortization spread over a long term of years. Renters would be specially protected by law, and farm hands would enjoy the benefits of all the social legislation already covering the urban workers. The State would exercise close control of the price of fertilizers and promote all sorts of cooperative enterprises aimed at putting the farmers and the consumers in touch with each other without the intervention of middle-



THE GERMAN REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT

"Now that we are at last together again, his Majesty can come."
—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

men, with the hope of raising prices of farm products for the producers without making them dearer for the industrial workers. The program points out, moreover, that merely raising prices of farm produce will not solve the German farmers' problem, unless their output be also increased by modern methods of cultivation, to which end all the resources of science must be put at the disposal of the producers.

The Socialists also demand that the tariff on foodstuffs be wiped out and that a State monopoly of foreign trade in grain be instituted which would act as a check on too much foreign competition with German farmers and at the same time protect German consumers. By thus emphasizing the things the State ought to do for the country population in the line of education and general promotion of agriculture, the Socialist campaigners hope to convince the peasants and farm laborers that their interests will be greatly advanced by a general labor victory at the polls.

At a national peasants' convention of the Democratic Party, held in Brunswick during the last week in January, the demands made for the small farmer differed very little from the Socialist program.



THE LOCARNO PACT

Stresemann at Geneva: "This will be a splendid thing in which to hide the dagger for Poland."
—Mucha, Warsaw

Italy and Disarmament

By ELOISE ELLERY

Professor of History, Vassar College

THE rejection by Italy of the proposal by President Coolidge for a conference on the limitation of navies was the outstanding feature of Italy's foreign policy during the last month. Premier Mussolini based his answer on two main arguments; first, that the interdependence of every type of armament made undesirable the adoption of partial measures between only the five large naval Powers; and, second, that owing to her unfavorable geographical position Italy could not without grave risk undertake a limitation of her maritime armaments. The full text of this note appears elsewhere in this issue.

In making public the note on Feb. 21 the Foreign Ministry explained that the reply was not prompted by any imperialistic motives. Italy, on the contrary, was in favor of limiting expenses for military purposes and would continue to support the steps taken in this direction by the League of Nations, but she was convinced

that to be successful it must apply to all nations and to all instruments of warfare.

This was also the attitude of the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican. "Peace," it declared, "does not mean the sacrifice of any one nation; peace is not a fruit picked off the inexperience of one nation by the cleverness of another. Proposals of reprisal would be born again immediately." "Lasting peace, the *Osservatore* continued, "can be obtained only by disarmament accompanied by guarantees combined with the spiritual education of the peoples of the world."

The Fascist press was less moderate in its reception of President Coolidge's naval disarmament proposal. In commenting on it, *Il Tevere*, a noted Fascist organ, said: "We need a navy to defend our colonies and seek new outlets for our superdensity of population and our desire to work. We are merely following the example of those nations which now are acting as our men-



MUSSOLINI FORBIDS DANCING—EXCEPT THE DANCE OF DEATH.

—De Notenkraaker, Amsterdam.



Fascism to the Priest: "Teach him to love religion; I will teach him love of country."

—Il 420, Florence.

tors. A navy permitted England to conquer an empire. A navy conquered Spain's heritage for the United States. We are demonstrably as able as the English and Americans to carry civilization beyond our borders. Why should we renounce our future? It is in the hands of God, and the proverb says 'God helps those who help themselves.'"

As one means of helping to spread Fascist doctrines by securing representatives abroad whose adherence to Fascism is beyond question, many shifts have recently been made in the diplomatic and consular service. The need of greater efficiency in

the technique of the service is also given as a reason for the changes.

In the development of her foreign relations along peaceable lines, Italy has drawn up an arbitration treaty with Chile. It provides for a permanent commission for the adjustment of disputes, with the International Court at the Hague as the final resort, and is valid for ten years. This is the twelfth treaty of friendship and arbitration which Italy has signed since August, 1923. It has, in addition, a special significance, since it is the first treaty concluded with a country of the New World.

Significant Events in Central Europe

By FREDERIC A. OGG

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

EVER since announcement was made in early January that Premier Bethlen of Hungary was planning a visit to Rome for the discussion of economic matters with Premier Mussolini, Hungarian policy and relationships have been a subject of increasing speculation throughout Central Europe. It is notorious that Hungary chafes under the restrictions of the Trianon Treaty and looks anxiously to the day when these restraints and deprivations will be, at least in part, removed. And while it is not supposed that the interviews at the Chigi Palace which are scheduled for late March look in any direct way to this end, few Central European observers are prepared to believe that the subjects of conversation will be as purely economic as the statements given out would lead one to expect—even if it were possible in these days to discuss an international economic question without reference to politics.

The future course of Hungary is, indeed, a matter of deep international concern. More than once the Little Entente States have complained to the Western Allies that the Hungarian Government refuses to enter into trade agreements and general treaties which would advance the work of

reconstruction in Central Europe; that indeed it deliberately seeks to frustrate the efforts of the Succession States toward economic stability in order to postpone this stability as long as possible and to provide Hungarian propaganda with fictitious proof that economic stability is unattainable in Central Europe as long as the Trianon Treaty remains in force. Government spokesmen in Hungary have, of course, indignantly denied these accusations, declaring that they are mere attempts to bring the country into disrepute, and maintaining that everything possible has been done at Budapest to aid in the general work of recovery.

The feeling, however, that Hungary is not playing the game persists. It is noted that considerable sections of both the Government and the Opposition press openly rejoice that the political atmosphere in Middle Europe continues troubled. Count Anponyi is observed asserting in the *Pesti Naplo* that every Hungarian knows that normal relations between Hungary and the surrounding States cannot be resumed without a revision of the Trianon Treaty. It is called to mind that another leading politician, Rakosi, writing in the *Pesti Hirlap*, has declared that Hungary must, in the cur-

rent year, concentrate on regaining her old pre-war frontiers. And it is especially a matter of comment that, at a time when her relations with her immediate neighbors do not extend beyond the barest necessary contact and cooperation, and before she has given any sign of being willing to enter into closer and more settled relations with these neighbors, Hungary is turning to the Power whose bold moves have of late caused added apprehension in the Balkans and which at this moment is in a strained position with reference to a principal Balkan State, *i. e.*, Yugoslavia. In the Succession States the view is, of course, that Hungary signed and ratified the peace treaty, that it is her duty faithfully to carry out its provisions, that she ought to abandon all thought of recovering territories that have become parts of other States, and that she should no longer obstruct Central European development by her sullen and offish attitude toward her neighbors.

The ostensible purpose of Premier Bethlen's journey to Rome is to discuss with Premier Mussolini the commercial and economic questions connected with Italy's offer of Fiume as a free port for Hungary. This matter has a curious aspect. The Hungarians do not consider that they stand in any very serious need of such a port, and are in the position practically of having one thrust upon them. The subject was very little discussed until Yugoslavia last Autumn, in order to win the friendship of Budapest, voluntarily offered a port at Spalato, and Italy, not to be outdone, tendered Fiume. The reasons for the apathy are two-fold: First, the fact that, notwithstanding the unstabilized relations between Hungary and the surrounding States, the great bulk of Hungarian foreign trade is with these States, very little being overseas, and, second, that the sugar producers and other exporters, who at present furnish Fiume and Trieste with a certain amount of traffic, expect eventually to get their products to the sea via the proposed waterway connecting the Danube with the Rhine.

Under these circumstances, and in view also of the generally understood intention of M. Bethlen to have Italy's backing in whatever settlement of the throne question may eventually be made, it has been impos-

sible to prevent the Premier's trip to the Eternal City from rousing speculation as to its real object, and to allay anxiety among Hungary's neighbors, particularly Yugoslavia, over its possible political consequences. M. Bethlen is considered a long-headed statesman who foresees a possible union of the Balkan Slavs—Bulgaria and Yugoslavia—coming under Russian influence and also fears a possible Austro-German union, and wants to safeguard Hungary against becoming an isolated Magyar island in a Slav-German sea. It is thought that he wants to work toward an understanding on these fundamental matters with Italy, which has reasons of her own for not welcoming either union.

The budget for the coming fiscal year, as presented by the Finance Minister, M. Janos Bud, early in February—the first drawn up without League of Nations supervision—showed about 5 per cent. increase in revenues and expenditures, with a small prospective surplus which is, in fact, expected to prove considerably larger because of the conservatism with which the estimates of revenues were prepared. The policy of the Government is to conceal its surpluses as far as possible and to use them for productive purposes. The figures cited by M. Bud revealed considerably increased prosperity and purchasing power of the country, consumption of sugar having increased one-third over that of the preceding year, consumption of gasoline and other motor utilities having been doubled, and savings deposits having risen by almost 100,000,000 pengö.

PILSUDSKI WINS ON POLISH BUDGET

Press announcements near the middle of February to the effect that Marshal Pilsudski was about to suffer a staggering defeat in the Polish Parliament proved premature, even though the quasi-dictatorial authority of that redoubtable maker of Cabinets was for a moment flouted and placed in jeopardy. The trouble arose over the budget bill, which came up for its second reading in the Sejm on Feb. 12. As the estimates of one department after another were reached, motions were made and carried reducing the amounts asked for, or withholding them altogether, until the budget became fairly unrecognizable;

and there was no concealment of the fact that the thing was being done primarily as a protest against the existing régime, and accordingly as an intended affront to the Dictator-Premier. This took place on the 12th; and during the next thirty-six hours there was naturally no lack of rumors and forecasts as to what was going to happen. Pilsudski gave no sign, but it was predicted that he would sacrifice his Ministers for the sake of remaining at the helm and that very probably he would again assume, in form as well as in fact, the completest dictatorial powers.

The dénouement had many of the aspects of opera bouffe, even though from the viewpoint of those interested in the country's return to real parliamentary government it was, and is, a serious matter. On Monday the budget bill reached its third reading. Clad in his stained and time-worn uniform, Pilsudski repaired to the Parliament building, where he gathered the members of the Cabinet about him and, with them, waited in an adjoining room until the debate had run its course. Then, as the President announced that the vote would be taken, the grizzled chieftain, accompanied by his colleagues, strode into the hall, advanced to the front Government bench, glanced with haughty composure over the house, and sat down to await the outcome. The moment was psychological, the effect dramatic, and the Opposition, which until then had seemed certain to carry the day, was put to utter rout. The restored budget bill was adopted in its entirety; whereupon the Marshal, without the slightest show of feeling, thanked the President and stalked out. It was the first occasion since he took over the Premiership that he had deigned to appear in the Chamber. But a mere appearance had been enough. Not until he had departed did the Opposition recover from its surprise. Then the uproar became so great that the sitting had to be abandoned.

The budget bill, however, was law, and the newspaper headlines telling of Pilsudski's humiliation had to be revised, even though political circles professed to see in the episode merely a postponement of a crisis that will come to a head as soon as the Opposition is able to reorganize its forces and discipline its Deputies against the persuasive powers which up to now the Marshal has been able to use with such complete success at strategic moments.

Negotiations for a commercial treaty between Poland and Germany, which have been intermittently in progress for more than two years, were broken off in the middle of February because of strained relations arising from the Polish deportation of four German railroad officials from Polish Upper Silesia. To a request from the Marx Cabinet for a settlement of the whole vexed question of German domiciliary rights on Polish soil, Poland's negotiators replied by presenting a note not only brushing aside the proposal but announcing that they would not go on with the commercial discussions. The view taken at Warsaw was that the question of domicile was quite incidental, and that what the Nationalists, now dominating the Cabinet at Berlin, were really interested in was sounding out the possibilities of resuscitating the Reich's claims for readjustment of its Eastern frontiers. In Germany, too, the Opposition charged that the Agrarians, who, through the Nationalists, now control the Cabinet, did not want a trade agreement with Poland because such a pact would bring Polish farm products into competition with their own. Furthermore, it was asserted that some of the German negotiators believed that, now that the British coal strike is ended, the cause of Polish prosperity has been removed, and that economic pressure will soon compel the Poles to come to terms with the Germans, who before the war were their best customers.

The British Note to Russia

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE foreign policy of the Soviet Government may be primarily a policy of self-defense dictated by fear, but the British Government does not seem to look upon it in just that light. Particularly bad feeling has existed between Britain and Russia since the publication in October, 1914, of the alleged letter of Zinoviev, head of the Communist International at that time, in which Zinoviev seemed to order the British radicals to make plans for the overturn of the British Government. The Labor Ministry sharply protested, and the Soviet Government denied responsibility for the Communist International and flatly declared that the letter was a forgery. However, although both sides were very angry, neither moved to break off diplomatic relations and to abandon their trade agreement.

The enmity resulting from this episode has never disappeared and has grown more bitter in recent months. Many British resented the contributions of the Russian trade unions to the strike funds of the British coal miners and became outspoken against the activities of Bolshevik agents in China among the Cantonese, while the attacks upon the Soviet Government by certain prominent members of the Conservative Party have been especially vehement.

Reacting quickly to these criticisms, many Russians believed that they saw the sinister influence of Britain behind Smetana's coup d'état in Lithuania; they felt that the British aimed to strike at the Soviet Government through the Baltic States, and began to wonder if they were not telling the truth who declared that Russia must prepare at once for war—a war in defense of Russia against its neighbors, encouraged and supported by Great Britain.

In this frame of mind the Russians who read the documents recently published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were convinced of

British aggressiveness. These documents, letters from Eugene Sablin, a former Czarist official now living in London, purported to show that the British Government employed Czarist émigrés as special policemen and strikebreakers during the general strike of last year and—much more irritating to Bolsheviks—that Czarist propaganda appeared as bona fide news in the British press with the aid and connivance of friends in Parliament.

To candid observers the British case seems the stronger. The Russians do not deny, rather they boast, that the Russian trade unions assisted the British strikers. The British, accordingly, have real grounds for declaring that the Bolsheviks have given special offense by meddling directly in the domestic affairs of Great Britain. Nor do the Russians deny that Bolshevik agents have been causing trouble for British interests in China. On the other hand, foreign onlookers see no clear evidence of direct meddling by Britain with the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union, while propaganda in British newspapers and Czarist émigrés in the employ of the Government—even if undisputed facts—after all are activities in the British Isles and not within the territorial domain of the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities, of course, may argue with some force that a British menace in the Baltic States would not be remote from the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union; certainly the imminence of a war is a matter of domestic concern. But the Soviet leaders have yet to show the outside world that there is a British plot to set the Baltic States upon Russia.

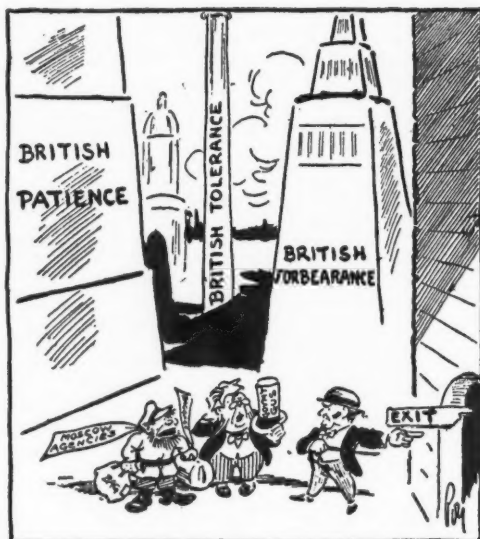
During the last week of February influential opinions brought the British Ministry to a decision. It was reported that "Die Hard" Conservatives in the Cabinet wanted to break off relations with Russia entirely, but finally consented to have the Government send a strong note of protest

to Moscow. On the very same day, Feb. 21, reports came from Moscow that Litvinov, Acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs, had made a significant speech before the Central Executive Committee then sitting in the Kremlin: that the Soviet authorities had some inkling of the approaching British action seems probable from the contents of Litvinov's speech. He blamed the tension between Britain and Russia largely upon the activities of Czarist émigrés. He defended the Chinese policy of the Soviet Government with dignity and frankness, showing that while sympathetic with the national aspirations of the Chinese it was not trying deliberately to provoke anti-foreign sentiment in China, any more than in Chile or Nicaragua, the latter referring to insinuations emanating from the United States that there is a plan to drive a Bolshevik wedge in Nicaragua between the United States and its Panama Canal.

THE BRITISH NOTE

The British Government, however, placed no confidence in Litvinov, and on Feb. 23 it made public a note to Russia signed by Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In this "ultimatum" the British Government called the attention of the Soviet Government to its agreement on June 4, 1923, "not to support with funds, or in any other form, persons or bodies or agencies or institutions whose aim it is to spread discontent or foment rebellion in any part of the British Empire and to impress upon its officers and officials full and continuous observance of these conditions."

As alleged violations of this understanding, Chamberlain cited a speech by Tchitcherine, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, on Dec. 6, 1926, at Berlin, in which he deliberately misquoted an English periodical, *The Near East*, so as to make it appear to threaten Persia; a speech by Voroshilov, Commissar of War, on Sept. 17, 1926, before part of the Red Army, and an article by Unsicht, Vice Commissar of War, in *Pravda* on Sept. 15. The British Government also took exception to the choice of Kamenev for an Ambassador's post abroad after he had criticized Stalin and the ruling group in the Soviet Government



Guide: "I have shown the gentleman from Moscow this monument, that monument and the other monument. What else can I show him?"

John Bull: "Show him the door."

—*Evening News, London*

for putting so much emphasis on internal problems instead of pushing revolution in foreign countries. The utterances of Bukharin, recently placed at the head of the Communist International, were also quoted as follows: "In the event of a further victorious advance of the Canton armies, it is not utopian to assert that the victorious Chinese revolution will find an immediate echo in neighboring colonial countries, India, Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. * * * The English miners' strike and the national revolution in China are, it seems to me, the chief spots where the Communist Parties must apply their efforts." Chamberlain could indeed have anticipated the Russian remonstrance that the Soviet Government was not responsible for the International, if he wished, by bluntly saying that as Stalin had put Bukharin at the head of the International he could remove him from that position, and, indeed, would have to do so if he chose to abide by the agreement with Great Britain of 1923, but the Foreign Secretary preferred to point out that the Soviet Government had been more than remiss, since on Nov. 3, Rykov, Chief Commissar, gave the official approval of the Soviet Gov-

ernment to Bukharin's statement by congratulating the Communist conference upon the unanimity with which it had accepted its resolutions.

The British note called attention to statements by Karakhan, recent Soviet Minister in Peking, and by Semashko, Commissar of Health, as further indication that Soviet agents had instigated attacks upon British interests in China. Chamberlain became most vehement in referring to the recent activities of *Izvestia*, the acknowledged official organ of the Central Executive Committee, which, besides giving space to articles that were hostile to Great Britain, printed a grossly insulting and mendacious cartoon on its front page on Dec. 29, 1926, depicting the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as applauding the execution of Lithuanian Communists. In conclusion, the British Government gave the Soviet Government to understand that if it continued "such acts as are here complained of" the trade agreement and even diplomatic relations would be broken off.

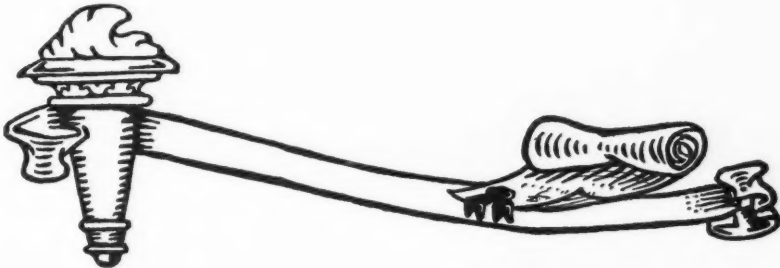
RUSSIA'S REPLY

On Feb. 26 the reply of the Soviet Government was handed to the British Minister at Moscow. According to a dispatch to *The New York Times*, the Russian note expressed surprise and regret that the British Government felt so strongly. It suggested that the objectionable statements of Soviet leaders like Tchitcherin and Bukharin should be compared with the public remarks of Winston Churchill and Lord Birkenhead. According to the Russian view, both showed personal hostility,

but neither could be considered "hostile propaganda" in the sense used in the Anglo-Russian trade agreement.

The Soviet reply challenged the British Government to produce definite proof that any Soviet official had been guilty of such "hostile propaganda" and reminded the British that Lord Curzon had agreed in 1923 to notify the Soviet of any infractions of the trade agreement as they occurred. That the British had not done so gave opportunity for Bolshevik sarcasm. Perhaps the British had no definite proof. Perhaps the British Cabinet had been forced into its protest by the "Die Hards" on account of the publication of the Sablin letters. With the reminder that a break between Britain and Russia would endanger world peace and hurt British trade quite as much as Russian, with the reiteration that they desired to settle their difficulties with Great Britain peaceably, the Soviet authorities closed their reply and waited for the British Government to submit more definite evidence that the Soviet Government had broken its pledges of 1923.

The British press received the Soviet note with these stinging adjectives: hypocritical, impudent, insolent, evasive, mendacious, defiant. But opinion was current that the Government would not break off relations with Russia. Officials expressed no surprise at the tenor of the Soviet note, and on Feb. 28 Austen Chamberlain told Parliament that the Government would not even make a reply. As this article went to press the reasons for Chamberlain's decision to hold the matter in abeyance, after so vigorous a beginning, had not been made public.



Causes of Portugal's Twenty-One Revolutions

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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PORTUGAL has just passed through its twenty-first revolution since the founding of the Republic in 1910. In fact, the number would be twenty-three if certain minor uprisings were to be counted. In either case, it is a high average of political upheavals in a period of seventeen years of self-determination, even for a country with so many earthquakes to its credit as this small descendant of the ancient Lusitania. A few points from less recent history, emphasizing certain inherited political practices, will assist in the explanation.

The revolution of 1910 was not a revolt against tyranny, but rather a protest against corruption. The attempts at absolutism or dictatorship made by King Carlos came to an end with his assassination in 1908, and the two years of the reign of the young King Manuel were marked by Parliamentary rather than executive control. Nor was there any strong public demand for a republican government, although there were many who believed in and preferred that form. In fact, in the last Parliament of the old régime there were only fourteen avowed Republican Deputies. The fall of the monarchy was due to the conviction in the minds of the most influential citizens that the political system was so rotten that the only help lay in a complete change to popular control.

This estimate of politics and lawmaking was correct. The rottenness was so complete that it glowed in its own phosphorescence, and every man could see and understand. The political parties were made up of groups who were interested not only in holding and using public office to their own profit, but also in making laws to the same purpose. The tariff, for example, was exploited regardless of economic experience. The law of 1892 contained du-

ties of 100, 200 and 250 per cent. For the benefit of one small factory, colored ribbons paid an import tax equal to \$2.40 a pound. Rice, codfish, tea and other necessities paid duties twice or three times the value of the goods. Agriculture was hampered by duties and restrictions in the interest of the large landowners, and all these things were controlled by what seemed to be permanent rings of politicians.

The system of Parliamentary control was interesting and almost unique. There were two political parties, the Progressists and the "Regeneradores," both with liberal titles but both conservative in policy and both corrupt. When the Opposition thought the other party had been in long enough they proceeded to vote them out. However, change of administration was not disastrous to party managers, for the new Cabinet immediately appointed the old leaders to fat offices, and when later it came their turn to retire, received the same courtesy. The parties were described at the time as the "Rotativos." To the vanquished belonged the spoils in part. The chief looting ground in this system was the national Agricultural Bank. The members of the outgoing Cabinet were given easy chairs and large salaries in the *Credito Predial*, where they rested till the next "rotation," while the institution was systematically plundered by both parties. Everything was in good order for political "strikes" and extortion.

This condition was not a recent development at the time the Republic was founded. It was old when Carlos came to the throne in 1889, and before long it became worse because the King took a hand in the game himself. At one time he became tired of the incessant changes of Government and introduced a Premier Dictator who did something to clean up

the Civil Service, but the King's own unauthorized borrowings and extravagance only increased the corruption and discontent. The new King Manuel did not follow the same path, but the parliamentary comedy went on until it seemed necessary to abolish the whole system.

The Republic thus entered upon its career in conflict with political traditions that for more than half a century had been "dyed in the wool." The professional politicians, both the sincere and the corruptible, had been trained in this school and were on hand to take part in the new Government. It was a task in which the participants must not only try the experiment of self-government, but also unlearn the bad habits of themselves and their forefathers.

The monarchy was abolished and the House of Braganza banished forever from the confines of Portugal, but this did not prevent the election of avowed monarchists to the houses of Parliament. In addition to political intrigue, there were open attempts in 1911 and 1919 to restore royalty by armed force. Hence the problem of government included not only taking into account differences of opinion between parties supporting the Republic, but also coping with enemies who would have destroyed the Republic altogether. So far the cause of free government has been successful in preventing the restoration of monarchy, but unable to prevent outbreaks of violence in domestic politics.

The list of revolutionary movements is too long to recite in this space. Outside of the few monarchist plots the outbreaks have all been party or factional contests for possession of the Government by violence instead of elections. Unfortunately for the interests of peace some of the twenty-one revolutions were successful in that respect, so hope lived on for others to try the experiment. Every now and then a Cabinet Minister or a President was obliged to lay down his office and perhaps flee the country. The latest case is that of Bernardino Machado, first elected President in 1917 for a term of four years, but driven into exile at the end of two. To his own surprise he was again elected in 1925 at the age of 75 as a compromise candidate

in the interest of peace. Six months later he resigned office in the face of a revolution and is once more a wanderer, now in Spain.

Even during peaceful intervals the changes in Prime Ministers and Cabinet officers have been bewildering. Some of these were due to the elections, but often they were checks and counter-checks in party tactics. In 1920 there were nine Governments, one of which lasted only twenty-four hours and another only six days. In 1923 Silva as Prime Minister ended a term of twenty-one months, a feat unparalleled in the history of the Republic. For the most part, however, the rotative movement seems to have gained an uncontrollable momentum.

It would be rash for any one to explain this situation under a single formula. The outsider looks on with pain or amusement until he happens to think of some of the faults of his own legislature. The Anglo-Saxon may assign it to the effervescence of the Latin-Mediterranean temperament, while others may call it lack of political experience, but in the midst of the welter one thing is evident, namely, that Portuguese politicians have already had too much experience of the wrong kind.

Under the monarchy party politics was a game, and a game it has remained under the Republic. Rival factions have been actuated less by party principles than by personal or party ambitions and animosities. To say that no progress has been made would be a mistake, although at present the Treasury is in a lamentable condition and there have been scandals in the management of the Angola Bank. Ecclesiastical control has been obviated by the complete separation of Church and State. Something has been done for the spread of education, but the social and economic welfare of the country has been greatly damaged by the lack of stability in government.

So we come to the latest phase of this political drama, which is dictatorship. The outbreak of February was but an episode in the career of the Government which was brought in by revolution in June, 1926. In brief space Commander Mendes Cabecadas, General Gomez da

Costa and General Carmona succeeded each other in control, the latter still remaining President.

General Carmona has a poor opinion of the Legislature. He has put down the rebellion and undertaken the task of pacifying Portugal. This will be a serious matter, for, as he says, political parties "unfortunately think more of their own interest than that of the country." He avers that political factions have conspired by every means to overthrow the dictatorship, but that this is loyally supported by the army, and he intends to see that social discipline is restored. He further declares that the drastic measures recently taken were only temporary, and when all is ready the reins of power will be transferred to competent statesmen who will complete the work begun by the dictatorship.

This language is getting familiar. No dates are set and we shall have to await the outcome. In the meantime the greatest problem will be the creation of an intelligent political constituency in a population of 6,000,000, some 70 per cent. of which are unable to read and write.

[EDITORIAL NOTE—The Editor has received from Emil Lengyel the following details supplementing the account given above of the fundamental causes underlying Portugal's latest revolution. Mr. Lengyel stresses the fact that "the Portuguese are the product of many races and civilizations. Except in the extreme northwest the pure Spanish type is almost extinct." Successive invaders—Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, barbarians, African tribes, Arabs and Berbers—left their imprint on the native population:

In the fifteenth century thousands of African slaves were imported into Portugal, who subsequently intermarried with the earlier comers. There is no color problem in the land because the different races are so absorbed and diffused that it would be difficult to trace

the racial ancestry of most of the inhabitants. The mixing of races accounts for the temperament of the population, which is one of the main causes of the frequent bursting forth of passion.

Another cause is to be found in the survival of the large class of office holders who took over administration of Portugal's vast colonies in the Middle Ages. "Many of them built up powerful dynasties, aristocratic families possessed of great wealth." These privileged classes, who lost everything with Portugal's loss of her colonies, have long sought to regain their old position of power by intrigue and interference in domestic politics. These *grands seigneurs* have used the illiterate ignorant elements of the population to man their civil wars against one another. This tradition persists today:

Owing to the lack of system in the exploitation of the natural wealth of the land there is chronic unemployment. Tens of thousands of loafers, typical specimens of what Karl Marx called the "Lumpenproletariat" (the tatterdemalion masses) are swarming in the public squares of the two largest cities of the country, Lisbon and Oporto. These men make their wretched living on incessant civil warfare. For a little food and a few cents a day they take up arms under any political leader who makes them proposals.

A third cause lies in financial and economic conditions: the progressively unfavorable budget; the desperate inflations of the currency by the Treasury; the investment by the wealthy, apprehensive over the possibilities of this situation, of their capital abroad, the hoarding of money by the peasants, moved by similar reasons. Economically the country has been hard hit by prohibition in the United States, as wine is the chief export article of Portugal and an important source of national revenue. "The embittered Portuguese are conscious of America's part in their financial troubles, as was seen in the attack on the American Legation." All these various causes "have made the history of Portugal a long series of internal conflicts, leaving the country no leisure to progress."]



Persia and Her American Advisers

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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IN furthering the process of economic rejuvenation in Persia, America is but performing an act of cousinly service. Though the Persians have been in their country nearly 3,000 years, and the Americans in theirs not much more than 300 years, nevertheless the ancestors of the two peoples were akin, as is shown by the similarity of language. While the Americans have had an unprecedentedly free opportunity for development and progress in a new and bountiful continent, the Persians took possession of an exposed and endangered position in the centre of the Old World. Furthermore, their land, while possessing fertile valleys and well-watered oases, was largely desert, demanding on the whole great efforts and bestowing niggardly returns.

The ancient Persians had in them the leading qualities of which America is proud, such as the love of adventure, abundant energy, capacity for organized action and a sense of equality with anybody, if not of superiority over most. They built the greatest empire that had yet appeared, which yielded only to the somewhat superior intellectual and organizing power of another group of cousins from Macedonia and Greece.

Twice since the ancient times the Persians have mustered strength and risen to a place among the great nations of the world. They enjoyed a great empire from the third to the seventh centuries A. D., and again about the year 1500 they brought together the national power of which present-day Persia is a survival. It is far from impossible that a fourth period of Persian greatness is now beginning, when under the leadership of a new and vigorous ruling house, at a time when the encroachments of neighbors are not to be feared, the shrewd advice of practical America is sought and followed in a new departure.

In many respects Persia was in a bad

way thirty years ago. Her royal house and many of her leading families seemed to have lost all sense of loyalty to their country. Anxious only to maintain their privileged positions and to secure by hook and crook the funds for a lazy and luxurious life, they were ready to sell their country's future to foreigners of shrewdness and resource. Government officials, high and low, appeared chiefly concerned with lining their own purses, and the extensive religious organization, on both intellectual and economic grounds, was inclined to resist all innovations. Merchants and artisans employed leisurely and antiquated methods such as Europe departed from at the close of the Middle Ages. The mass of the people, both in cities and villages, lived in extreme poverty, almost devoid of educational opportunity, incentive to progress, or hope of better days.

Nevertheless, there were a few leaders who knew how to reach the reservoirs of human energy which still lay hidden in the hearts of the Persians. These patriots risked fortune and life itself in a revolutionary movement which was on the whole surprisingly successful. By the year 1907 a Constitution, albeit bizarre in some points, was in existence, and a Parliament, however crude and inexperienced, was functioning. Then came the "peaceful penetration" of the Russians, supported by the reluctant English, which threatened to take full possession of the Persian land and resources. In the year 1911 Persian Nationalists made their first appeal to America for aid. Mr. Morgan Shuster and a staff of American assistants, entrusted with great powers, took charge of the Treasury of Persia. In a few months they made a remarkable beginning of such a reorganization as pointed to the speedy financial independence of the country. This prospect could not be endured by the Russian Government, and means were found for excluding Mr. Shuster from Persia.

The approach of the World War delayed the Russian occupation. Persia's neighbors paid little attention to her neutrality during the war. The Russian power was broken by revolution, her territorial aggressiveness was, if not destroyed, at least suspended, and in 1919 some British negotiators agreed with a Persian group to give the control of the country to Englishmen. Mr. Armitage Smith with a small staff advised the Persian Government financially for a short time. In 1921, however, another Persian group came to temporary control and seemed inclined to put Persia again into the hands of Russians. The British advisers departed, but before Russians took their place another change in Persian politics led to the engagement of an American Treasurer General, to be assisted by a staff from among his own countrymen. Dr. Arthur Chester Millspaugh took up his duties as "Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia" late in 1922, and, except for vacation periods, has continued at the task ever since. Large powers were placed in his hands, including complete control of the functioning and the personnel, whether native or foreign, of the financial administration. He prepares the budget, approves all payments and loans, and is consulted by the Government in regard to all concessions and financial problems.

At first the new adviser was welcomed with great joy, and there was apparently the fullest cooperation with his endeavors. Though, after about a year, considerable opposition developed, this was only to be expected, because every reform in removing abuses strikes at the private interests of many individuals. The opposition gradually wore itself away, however, and at the end of the first period of three years there was evidence of a very strong general desire that the work of the Americans should continue. In fact, provision was made for an increase in the number of American advisers and an extension of their functions. Their work has been by no means confined to accurate accountancy, the elimination of waste and fraud, and the application of economy and efficiency. Says Dr. Millspaugh: "The reorganization of the finances of Persia should be considered as a means to an end—the

economic development of the country and the prosperity and welfare of the Persian people." Probably the greatest service that will be rendered by America to Persia in this connection will be in the guidance of legislation and administration toward the reorganization of the whole economic structure of the country. Already roads are being improved, money is being accumulated for the building of railroads (an American civil engineer has been engaged and has reached Teheran), plans are projected for the development of mineral deposits, storage reservoirs are contemplated, and measures are in preparation to reorganize agricultural and commercial methods and processes.

DR. MILLSPAUGH'S REPORT

A measure of the progress of the American control can be seen in the quarterly reports of the Administrator General. The fifteenth of these brings the story to June 22, 1926, in a substantial booklet in English which does great credit to the press of the Persian Parliament. Besides the report itself, the volume contains a map of Persia, showing the provinces and principal cities; calendars which set forth the correspondence between the Persian solar year, the Mohammedan lunar year, and the European Gregorian year; a list of the chief administrative officers; a comparison of English, Persian and metric weights (steps have been taken to convert the Persian into the metric system, a process that happens to be comparatively easy); a table of Persian money, and thirty-eight extensive tables dealing with revenues and expenditures, Government financial operation, the work of the bank and the mint, facts about personnel, the accounts of the sugar and tea monopoly tax for the building of railroads, and civil service pension funds, and so forth.

Dr. Millspaugh's report displays modestly the evidence of great progress during four years of control. Two years of deficit have been followed by two years of increasing surplus, in spite of drought conditions during the third year which caused heavy losses. The debt has been reduced, and at the same time the taxation system has been greatly improved by the removal of many vexatious items. Expenses have

been lowered, with at the same time an increase in the efficiency of Government operation.

Many recommendations are presented which look toward further improvements. For example, no less than eight suggestions are made for the development of export trade, called forth particularly by the facts that importation increases more rapidly than exportation, and that if mineral oil be left out of consideration there is a heavy adverse balance of trade, which, moreover, tends to increase. The remedial suggestions include a study of foreign markets and the promotion of trade through the legations and consulates abroad; the substitution and diversification of crops; the promotion of Persian industries, such as the production of caviar, textiles, sugar, and so forth; the survey and exploitation of mineral resources; the improvement of transport; Government assistance in financing exports; a strengthening of the commercial

sections of the Ministries of Public Works and Foreign Affairs; and an intelligent revision of the tariff. "In the last analysis, however, improvement of commercial conditions depends on the merchants themselves, on their credit, their initiative, their enterprise, their soundness of judgment, their willingness to invest money and take risks, and their capacity for cooperation."

In brief, the reports of the American advisers show that they have made on the whole remarkable progress with a difficult and complicated task. They have not been in the least discouraged by the obstacles in their way or by the inevitable tardiness in the application of many of their proposals. They have found in general a noteworthy and increasing spirit of support and cooperation on the part of Persians in every walk of life. Is it, therefore, too much to expect, as previously suggested, that for the fourth time the Persian people have set their feet upon the path of greatness?

Tense Situation in China

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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WHILE the forces of the Nationalists and the Northern armies manoeuvred in the vicinity of Shanghai, foreign Governments were preparing to defend their interests there by force if necessary. The table on Page 128 summarizes the principal foreign holdings, which total nearly \$2,500,000,000.

The tense situation for foreigners was somewhat relieved on Feb. 20 by the signing of an agreement between British Chargé d'Affaires O'Malley and the Nationalist Foreign Minister Eugene Chen for restoration to Chinese administration of the Hankow concession. Negotiations were begun on Jan. 27, but had been suspended early in February upon Minister Chen's protest at the movement of British troops. The British announcement of a modification of its military policy in February permitted renewal of negotiations but

they were again suspended several times before final signature. The agreement, which will serve as a model for return of concessions in Kiukiang and elsewhere, follows:

The proper British authorities will summon the annual general meeting of rate-payers in accordance with the land regulation on March 15. The British municipality will thereupon be dissolved and administration of the concession will be formally handed over to the new Chinese municipality. Pending the handing over to the new Chinese municipality on March 15, policing of the concessions and the management of the public works and sanitation will be conducted by the Chinese authorities now in charge thereof.

The Nationalist Government will, upon the dissolution of the British Council, forthwith set up a special Chinese municipality modeled on that of the special administra-

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL FOREIGN INTERESTS IN CHINA

(Foreign Policy Association Information Service.)

	United States	Great Britain	Japan	France	Italy
Population, 1924	8,817 12,000 (State Dept. estimate)	14,701	198,206	2,715	681
Value Trade, 1924	\$224,475,000	\$501,675,000*	\$358,725,000	\$41,700,000	\$11,400,000
Foreign Possessions	None	Hongkong ceded by Nanking Treaty, Aug. 1842. Area, 32 sq. m. Kowloon, old territory, ceded 1860	None	None	None
Leased Territories	None	Wei hai wei, leased July 1, 1898 Kowloon, new territory, leased 1898 for 99 years	Kwantung, leased to Russia March 27, 1898; transferred to Japan in 1905; lease extended to 99 years from original date Area, 1,300 sq. m.	Kwangchow-wan, leased Feb. 19, 1900 for 99 years. Area, 200 square miles	None
Concessions†	None	Amoy (1851-52) Canton (1861) Hankow (1861) Kiukiang (1861) Tientsin (1861) Chinkiang (1861) Newchwang (1861)	Amoy (1900) Hankow (1898) Tientsin Hangchow (1895) Soochow (1895)	Canton (1861) Hankow (1886) Tientsin (1861)	Tientsin
Foreign Troops and Legation Guards (Permanently stationed in China)	1,396 officers and men stationed at Peking and Tientsin	1,218 officers and men stationed at Peking and Tientsin.	940 officers and men (Japanese troops in Manchuria number approximately 3,500)	1,708 officers and men stationed at Peking and Tientsin	449 officers and men stationed at Peking and Tientsin
Foreign Owned Railways	None	Kowloon - Canton Railway (British section, 29 m.)	South Manchurian Railway, 672 miles	Yunnan Railway 288 miles	None
Investments: Commercial Missionary	\$70,000,000 \$80,000,000	Figures not available	Figures not available	Figures not available	Figures not available

*Including trade with Hongkong.

†Does not include Shanghai, an international settlement administered by the principal treaty powers.

tive district for the administration of the concession area, under regulations which will be communicated to his Britannic Majesty's Minister by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government. These regulations will remain in force until such time as arrangements are negotiated for the amalgamation of the five Hankow concessions and former concessions into one unified municipal district.

Upon signature of the Hankow agreement, Minister Chen reissued the statement of Nationalist policy of Jan. 22, to the effect that changes in the status of foreign concessions would be made by negotiation rather than force. He added that his Government alone was entitled to negotiate

for China on the subject, but Chargé O'Malley refused to accept this statement, asserting that Great Britain would negotiate with whatever *de facto* authority was in control. In announcing the agreement in the House of Commons on Feb. 21, Sir Austen Chamberlain said the British Government was also negotiating with the Peking Government in regard to Shanghai through Minister Miles Lampson and, since Shanghai is an international settlement, had invited the participation of interested Powers.

On Feb. 14 the Nationalists and Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, the Northern defender of Shanghai, both announced their opposition to Secretary Kellogg's plan for the new-

tralization of the Shanghai settlement, and, as a result, on Feb. 25, the diplomatic corps at Peking, including American Minister MacMurray, made the following announcement:

In the light of the military events which are at present taking place in the region of Shanghai and which may at any moment have serious consequences for the safety of the life and property of their respective nationals, as was apparent from the bombardment the 22d of this month, the interested diplomatic representatives feel compelled to recall that the international settlement of Shanghai, like the other concessions in China, was established in virtue of regular agreements with the Chinese Government in order to make it possible for foreigners to reside there freely and to carry on their trade.

In the course of the party strife of which that region has been the scene the authorities of the international settlement have scrupulously abstained from favoring any of the conflicting parties involved, and in spite of the difficulties of the situation they are maintaining in that respect the strict neutrality imposed upon them by the nature of the state of affairs thus established.

The interested diplomatic representatives are thus warranted in expecting on the part of the Chinese authorities the observance of the same rule of conduct, and they look to the heads of the armies involved to take all measures necessary to avoid incidents which would constrain the foreign authorities themselves to take the measures indispensable for insuring the safety of the persons and property of their nationals.

The development in Shanghai of a political strike to express sympathy for the advancing Nationalist army and the inauguration of drastic reprisals in the form of beheadings by Marshal Sun Chuan-fang led to preparation of extensive military defenses for the foreign settlements. On Feb. 25 the British began to place barbed



BITING THE HAND THAT SQUEEZES HIM
—Oregon Journal, Portland, Ore.

wire entanglements on Chinese territory around the settlement and seized strategic points to station howitzers and machine guns. The French prepared similar defenses in their settlement but scrupulously kept within it. Foreign residents of the settlements were called to arms on the same day, while some 10,000 foreign soldiers and marines were in the city and five American and twenty-five foreign warships in the harbor. General Smedley Butler was ordered on Feb. 28 to sail as soon as possible to take charge of American marines in China and on the same day five American destroyers, already in Far Eastern waters, were dispatched to Shanghai. The British Government continued of the opinion that events have fully justified their precaution in sending forces to China, and Marshal Sun Chuan-fang announced on Feb. 18 that he did not consider these precautions as unreasonable.



The Historians' Chronicle of the World

By the Board of Current History Associates

CHAIRMAN: ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Period Ended March 11, 1927

The Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

CONGRESS in session is always the most interesting play, motion picture and opera on the political stage. The dissolution of Congress by legal limitation at noon on March 4 of the odd-numbered years concentrates public attention upon the tasks which that particular Congress has been trying to perform. The Sixty-ninth Congress has furnished a classic example of ninety-six Senators and four hundred and thirty-six Representatives exemplifying the Yankee wife's characterization of her husband, "He has such a strong will that it won't let him do what he wants to." Whatever the defense of the filibuster as a means by which a group of patriots or even one lone patriot may prevent iniquitous legislation from passing, it breaks down when applied to the uproar, confusion and sterility of the last hours of the Senate.

When Reed of Pennsylvania was reproached upon the floor for setting his individual will against that of the rest of the Senate, his rejoinder was, "As I have a right to." He was stating a parliamentary truth. Why is it that the majority of the Senate does not insist upon rules under which no one man shall have the right of holding up so august and important a body? Clearly because more than half the members of the Senate would rather suffer such inconveniences than lose a weapon which any one of them may find handy some other time.

The heartbreaking plea that the sacred right of free speech shall not be taken away from the Senate is, of course, a reproach upon the House of Representatives, which has for about eighty years denied the right of unlimited debate, and also on the numerous legislative houses in the

States which have in force measures for limiting debate. Imagine a board of directors of a bank or of a railroad or the trustees of a great college tying their own hands so that any one director or trustee could prevent important and necessary action by everlasting talk. Apparently Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, by his eleventh hour objection, which prevented several laudable statutes from being passed, wanted to show the country that when Reed had met Reed, thus killing numerous pending bills till they were tired of it, a dose of their own medicine should be offered them.

Whoever was wrong, the inability of a body of powerful men like the Senators of the United States to control their own Frankenstein monster is one of the most humiliating difficulties in the way of popular government; and there in the Vice President's chair was the "chiel amang us taking notes," who rolls the filibuster under his tongue like a sweet morsel.

An immediate effect of the filibuster seems to be that the Reed (of Missouri) committee investigating corruption in the election of Senators will find it difficult and perhaps impossible to push its inquiries. There are people who think that as rich a crop of the long green could be traced in Colorado as in Illinois and Pennsylvania. It will be traced in due time, or else the Senate would become another Roman Senate, each seat an evidence of the fortune well or ill gained of the statesman.

Efforts to pass on to the courts the decision as to whether a man shall or shall not answer a question of a Senate committee are bound to break down, because in the long run "each house shall be the judge of the election returns and qualifi-

stitutional difficulties seem to be the obligation of the President to select members of the Federal Farm Board out of lists prepared by unofficial people in the various districts, and the levying of equalization fees on farmers who are supposed to have received advantages from the bill, the proceeds to be used for the advantage of other farmers who need help. The cracker in the President's whip was his remark that the effect would be "to eliminate the very conditions of advantage that now in-

duce farmers to join together to regulate and improve their own business."

Will this veto help or hurt the farmers concerned? Will it help or hurt the legislators who voted against the bill? Will it help or hurt the candidates or would-be candidates for the Republican nomination of 1928? This can better be discussed when the temper of the country is revealed. President Coolidge seems, to the time when these pages went to press, to have lost no sleep over those questions.

International Events

THE latest development in connection with the American proposals for the further limitation of naval armament has been the plan to hold a three-Power conference between the United States, Great Britain and Japan for the purpose of concluding a treaty. On President Coolidge's authority it was stated on March 8 that the United States was engaged in exchanges with Great Britain and Japan for such a conference. Great Britain on March 10 and Japan on March 11 notified the State Department of their acceptance of the invitation to a three-Power conference at Geneva this Summer. It was stated in Washington that hope had not been abandoned that France and Italy would eventually participate in the discussions, despite their rejection of President Coolidge's original proposal for a five-Power conference.

The British naval estimates for 1927, announced in the House of Commons on March 10, showed a decrease of £100,000 compared with those of 1926, notwithstanding an increase of £1,000,000 for new construction. The total appropriation asked for was £58,000,000. Among the economies effected was a decrease of 400 in personnel, which was given as 102,275. It was significant that in his statement accompanying the estimates, Mr. Bridgeman, the First Lord of the Admiralty, pointed out that the construction of vessels included in this year's program would not be begun until the Autumn, after the result of President Coolidge's conference would be known.

It became publicly known for the first time on March 8 that a memorandum had been sent by Prime Minister Baldwin to the State Department a few months ago protesting that the elevation of turret guns on American battleships would be in violation of the Washington treaty. In spite of

this protest it was announced that the Navy Department intended to proceed with such work on the battleships Oklahoma and Nevada in accordance with the terms of the act passed recently by Congress.

MEETING OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

The forty-fourth session of the Council of the League opened at Geneva on March 7, under the chairmanship of Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister. The major questions on its agenda were the administration of the Sarre, the dispute between Hungary and Rumania regarding the seizure, under the agrarian laws of Rumania, of certain lands belonging to Hungarian optants, and finally, the claim of Germany that the Polish Government is preventing its German-speaking families from enrolling their children in schools where their language is used.

THE FRENCH WAR DEBT

Although unwilling or unable to secure the ratification either of the Mellon-Bérenger or the Caillaux-Churchill debt agreements without the addition of a guarantee clause, which neither Great Britain nor the United States is willing to add, the French Government has demonstrated its willingness to meet its immediate obligations under those agreements, while it leaves the question of ratification for future determination. The annual payments on account, without ratification, would have the same effect as a guarantee clause, since France could, in case of German default, plead that it was unable to continue its payments.

Premier Poincaré on Feb. 17 announced that his Government was prepared to increase its payment to Great Britain during the current fiscal year from £4,000,000 to

£10,000,000, the amount that would have been due under the Caillaux agreement. Immediately thereafter, direct negotiations were begun between the French Treasury, represented in this country by M. Robert Lacour-Gayet, and Mr. Mellon for a similar arrangement with this country. The formal tender was not made until Feb. 28, when Mr. Mellon announced that he had agreed to the proposal that France would on June 15 pay into the United States Treasury the sum of \$10,000,000. "If and when a debt-funding agreement has been ratified by the French Parliament and by the Congress, it is understood that this \$10,000,000 will be credited to the annuities provided for in such agreement." This sum added to the \$10,000,000 paid on Feb. 1, and an equal sum due on Aug. 1, will bring the year's payments up to the amount due under the Mellon-Bérenger proposal. As the French payments during the past year amounted to \$30,000,000, should the agreement be ratified the current payments will be reckoned as the second in the series.

By a vote of 339 to 175, the French Assembly on March 8 approved Poincaré's policy in regard to these payments. In the course of the debate, he took occasion to declare that "the future action of Parliament remains uncompromised and entirely free."

DEBT CANCELLATION MOVEMENT

The plea made by Columbia University last December for a reconsideration of the settlement of the debts owing by the Allies to the United States was endorsed by Princeton University on March 10 when a statement signed by 116 members of the Faculty, headed by President J. G. Hibben, was issued. "However lenient these terms may be represented to be by those who wish to insist on our generosity," President Hibben said in comment, "there is a growing recognition that the settlements so far effected do not meet the actual situation. Even granting the capacity of our debtors to fulfill our stipulations, which is now openly questioned, we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries who are struggling to regain their strength at the very time when we are amassing a national fortune. To urge our Government's obligation to its citizen bondholders and taxpayers is to evade the real issue, which does not concern the relation of the Government to the people, but our national policy toward certain other States. To divorce the financial provisions of the

loans from the moral situation in which they were asked for and given is to invent an unreal economic abstraction. Against the contention that this question should not be raised until all our debtors have come to book there is a ready rejoinder that it would be wiser to adopt a policy which would facilitate agreements with the remaining parties and then revise previous agreements. Finally, there is good reason to believe that in economics, as well as in morals, altruism is indistinguishable from true self-interest."

A BUSINESS MEN'S PARLIAMENT

Representatives of forty-three countries, constituting the Trade Barriers Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, met in Paris on Feb. 23 to draft the report to be submitted to the Economic Conference in May. The United States was represented by Lucius R. Eastman, President of the Merchants' Association of New York. For several months, subcommittees have been studying the various aspects of the problem and collecting facts and figures for incorporation in the report. Senator Clémentel, former Minister of Finance, who presided, cited the re-established commercial relations between France and Germany as an example of recovery from the shortsighted policy adopted after the war. They had come to recognize, he said, "that petty rivalry and national egotism breed only ruin and misery, and that the world can be rebuilt only by the common effort of all nations." Customs tariffs lacking in clearness and uniformity, prohibitions of exportation and importation, frequent and often senseless changes in administrative regulations had proved themselves to be burdens which must be removed.

An earlier report of the committee, published at Geneva on Feb. 17, recommends, among other things, the abolition of all passport visés and legislation providing that the right of residence and establishment of foreigners shall be the same as for nationals. To improve the transportation system, they advise uniform freight classifications and regulations, the standardization of rolling stock and uniform time tables based on the twenty-four-hour system. They believe that there should be equality of treatment as between national and foreign merchant shipping and that subsidies supporting shipping should be abolished.

TANGIER

The controversy over the status of international control in Tangier seems no nearer

to settlement and it may become necessary to summon a conference of the signatories to the Algeciras convention. On Feb. 15, Spain presented to the French Government a revision of its former demand that Tangier should be virtually incorporated with the Spanish zone. The new memorandum stated that Spain would be satisfied with the control of the police, the harbor and the courts of the city, the region about it retaining its international status. As an acceptance of this proposal would have effectively destroyed French influence, the Government replied on Feb. 24 that it could not agree. The resignation of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Yanguas, Feb. 21, was supposed to have some connection with the affair and it was hoped in Paris that his removal would result in a reduction of the Spanish demands.

AIR TRAFFIC

The International Air Traffic Association, an organization representing a large part of the European commercial aviation

lines, held its seventeenth meeting at Vienna on Feb. 18. Hungary and Switzerland were elected to membership. Italy, Poland and Estonia, although not members of the association, were represented by delegates. An agreement was reached regarding the form of international passenger tickets and that reservations of tickets may be canceled at any time up to twenty-four hours before departure by a forfeit of 10 per cent. of the cost of the ticket. Infants venturing into the air before they have completed their first year are to be carried free, but after they have attained the age of seven, they are to be charged the full rate. Fifteen pounds of luggage are to be carried free. The British companies place no limit on the amount that may be carried for an extra payment, but several of the continental companies, using smaller planes, find it necessary to establish a maximum. The companies are a unit in refusing to accept liability either for injuries caused by accident or for loss occasioned by interrupted schedules.

J. T. G.

The United States

THE unexpected development of a second filibuster in the Senate, beginning on March 2 and continuing practically to the end of the session on March 4, disrupted the legislative program of Congress and killed a number of important measures passage of which had been confidently anticipated. The primary object of the filibuster, which was engineered by Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, Republican, was to prevent a vote on a resolution of Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, Democrat, to extend the life of his campaign funds investigating committee so as to enable it to investigate during the recess the Senatorial election in Pennsylvania. The purpose was accomplished, but within a few hours after the session ended the committee ordered the seizure of certain ballot boxes used in the election, apparently planning to go on with the investigation notwithstanding the lack of direct authorization.

The closing scenes in the Senate were excited, tempers and manners alike being badly strained. Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, Democrat, who opposed the filibuster, declared that the issue, "which will not end with this session," was "whether or not two-thirds of this Senate can transact

business," and characterized the proceedings as "civil war against honest government." Vice President Dawes, in his closing remarks, commended to the members his remarks about the Senate rules made at the opening of the first session, put the blame for the trouble upon a system of procedure "under which a minority can prevent a majority from exercising their constitutional right of bringing measures to a vote," and declared that the Senate was "the only great parliamentary body in the world where such a situation exists."

The most serious result of the filibuster was the failure of the Senate to pass the second deficiency bill, appropriating \$93,716,753 for various Government objects. An emergency measure, providing funds for pensions, veterans' compensation and soldiers' bonus loans, rushed through the House in anticipation of the failure of the deficiency bill in the Senate, was left without action in the upper house. Other important financial measures that failed of passage included a public buildings bill, appropriating \$25,000,000 for Federal buildings at Washington and \$100,000,000 for buildings elsewhere; the alien property bill, carrying appropriations for the settlement of German and American claims; a bill for the

retirement of disabled emergency officers; a bill readjusting postal rates, and legislation for Muscle Shoals.

A number of proposed investigations, in addition to that of the Reed campaign funds committee, also failed to receive the requisite Congressional sanction, the most important being proposals to investigate economic conditions throughout the country, the policy of the Administration in Latin-America, and the alleged sale of Federal offices in the South. The resolution of Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, Democrat, for an investigation of an alleged lobby in connection with the passage of the McFadden banking bill, was adopted by the Senate.

Of nearly 25,000 bills or resolutions introduced during the two sessions of the Sixty-ninth Congress, 998 became law by the approval of the President, 229 of the number being signed during the last twenty-four hours preceding adjournment. The Presidential messages to Congress numbered 100, and more than a thousand reports were made by the heads of departments or bureaus.

Criticism of filibustering tactics, together with the controversy with the President over farm relief legislation, tended to obscure somewhat the substantial legislative achievements of the session. In addition to the banking and radio bills, and nine regular appropriation bills carrying more than \$2,611,000,000, the bills passed included a rivers and harbors bill, with an appropriation of \$71,870,000, of which \$11,000,000 was for the purchase of the Cape Cod Canal; a bill appropriating \$10,000,000 to aid in exterminating the European corn borer; a milk bill providing for the inspection of milk and cream imported from Canada; a bill increasing the salaries of Federal Judges, and bills widening the scope of the Seamen's Compensation Act and extending until 1929 the Federal Maternity Act. The vexed question of railway consolidation was somewhat advanced by the announcement by the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House of the substance



TAKING ON WEIGHT

—Dayton (Ohio) News

of a bill, to be offered next December, providing for voluntary consolidation.

A bill reorganizing the Federal prohibition service with a view to more effective enforcement of the laws, passed by closure in the Senate on March 2 by a vote of 71 to 6, was accepted in its amended form by the House next day and sent to the President. Under the bill the prohibition service is to be separated from the Bureau of Internal Revenue and placed under the direct control of the Secretary of the Treasury, with a Prohibition Commissioner responsible to the Secretary and Assistant Secretary. It was expected that General Andrews, the present Assistant Secretary, would continue in that office.

Senate filibustering, on the other hand, was responsible for the failure of a medicinal liquor bill, providing for the manufacture, under Government supervision, of liquors for medicinal purposes, which passed the House by a large majority on March 1. No action was taken on any other of the numerous bills and resolutions proposing modifications of the prohibition laws or a national referendum on the prohibition issue.

State action regarding a prohibition referendum showed considerable diversity. In Massachusetts a petition bearing 1,000,333 signatures, asking a State referendum on the questions of modifying the Volstead act and repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, was presented to the Legislative Committee on Legal Affairs on Feb. 16. The Michigan Senate, on the other hand, indirectly withdrew its support of a constitutional convention to do away with prohibition by rescinding, on Feb. 25, under pressure from the State Anti-Saloon League, a fourteen-year-old resolution in favor of a constitutional convention to deal with polygamy, and the Law and Order Committee of the Pennsylvania House rejected on March 1 a proposal of a Statewide referendum. A resolution asking for a constitutional convention to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment was killed by the Judiciary Committee of the New York Assembly on March 8.

A conference between representatives of the United Mine Workers and the bituminous coal operators, which met at Miami, Fla., to consider a new wage agreement to replace the one which expires on April 1, broke up on Feb. 21 without reaching an agreement regarding wages in the central field. It was reported that while the miners would walk out on April 1 if no agreement were reached, only the union miners in the competitive central field would be affected, and that union mines in other districts would be allowed to operate under the Jacksonville agreement of three years ago.

Hearings on the request of 20,000 clerks, freight handlers and station employes of the New York Central Railway system, East and West, for a 12 per cent. wage increase amounting to about \$3,000,000 a year, began at New York on Feb. 28 before the United States Board of Arbitration. Preliminary conferences regarding a demand for a 7½ per cent. increase in wages

by the employes of roads west of Chicago were begun by the board at Chicago on March 4.

In a unanimous decision rendered on Feb. 28 the United States Supreme Court voided the transactions between Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, and Edward L. Doheny, a California oil operator, covering the lease of the Elk Hills Naval Oil Reserve and the construction of a naval oil station at Pearl Harbor, on the ground of manifest fraud and corruption. The Court also refused to order the repayment of the money expended by the Doheny interests, estimated at over \$10,000,000 for the Elk Hills Reserve alone.

A Texas law debarring negroes from voting in a Democratic primary in that State was unanimously held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court on March 7.

The \$12,000,000 Moffat tunnel in James Peak, Colorado, nearly seven miles long, was opened on Feb. 18 by President Coolidge, who pressed a telegraph key at Washington which fired the "holing through" blast.

In an address to the two houses of Congress on Feb. 22 President Coolidge emphasized the achievements of George Washington in civil life as those of an "essentially practical man."

A telephone conversation on Feb. 26 between San Francisco and London, a distance of 7,278 miles, established a new record for long distance telephonic communication. On March 4 President Coolidge exchanged greetings with President von Hindenburg of Germany over the new Emden-Azores-New York direct cable.

Dr. Ira Remsen, one of the most famous of American chemists and President Emeritus of Johns Hopkins University, died at Carmel, Cal., on March 5, aged 81.

W. MacD.

Mexico and Central America

CONFLICTING statements continued to be made during February concerning the attitude of American individuals and corporations owning petroleum property in Mexico toward the new Mexican petroleum law. In response to a Senate resolution offered by Senator Norris and unanimously adopted by the United States Senate on Feb. 3, Secretary of State Kellogg on Feb. 16 furnished the Senate with data on this subject. Secretary Kellogg

listed the names of forty-seven American individuals and Americans who "own or claim lands in Mexico alleged to have been acquired prior to May 1, 1917, and which have been found to contain or are supposed to contain subsoil deposits of petroleum," and, in addition, the names of eleven American persons or corporations holding their titles in the name of Mexican corporations. Of the above fifty-eight companies or individuals Secretary Kellogg said that, ac-

cording to the information of the Department of State, only four had applied for "confirmatory concessions" under the law; and of these, two were not actively producing petroleum, and two others did not own any fee properties in Mexico. Companies refusing or failing to accept the provisions of the petroleum law, Secretary Kellogg stated, control about 90 per cent. of the active petroleum producing lands of Mexico acquired before May 1, 1917, and produce about 70 per cent. of the total amount of oil being produced in Mexico.

The above data furnished by Secretary Kellogg to the United States Senate was declared to be inaccurate by Señor Luis Morones, Mexican Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, on Feb. 18. First, with reference to the number of American corporations or individuals owning oil lands in Mexico and the number that had not complied with the law, Morones said:

There are not forty, but only sixteen, American companies owners of lands, and half of them have asked for confirmatory concessions. At the end of 1926, 147 oil companies were operating in Mexico, and of these 125, a large majority, have accepted our regulations.

With reference to the two companies which Secretary Kellogg said had complied with the law but were not producing oil, Minister Morones said that the production of both companies had been between 200,000 and 250,000 barrels monthly for the past six months. As regards the two companies which Secretary Kellogg said had no fee properties in Mexico, Morones said that one did own land in Mexico. With reference to Secretary Kellogg's statement that companies opposing the law control 90 per cent. of the producing lands in Mexico, Minister Morones said:

Of the total of lands which to date have been destined to the petroleum industry, only a small part is the property of the exploiters themselves . . . for it is the exception for the exploiter to own the land outright. . . . As to the proportion of lands not brought under the law . . . to date, it is about 4.6 per cent. Of the total oil lands, amounting to 15,334,146 hectares (37,891,374 acres), concessions have been asked for only 672,127 hectares (1,660,312 acres). . . . It is stated that 70 per cent. of the Mexican petroleum comes from lands in respect to which the law has not been complied with. Such statement is erroneous. At the end of 1926 the percentage totaled 52.7. At present it is much less.

Two days later (Feb. 21) the Secretariat of Industry, Commerce and Labor announced that before the expiration of the time limit for the enforcement of the law on Jan. 1, 1927, a total of 125 companies had submitted to its terms and had applied

for "confirmatory concessions" and that twenty-two companies had refrained from doing so. Of those corporations mentioned as having accepted, twenty-five were said to be rated as large ones. Still later, on Feb. 28, Senator Borah made public a telegram from President Calles, dated Jan. 24, 1927, in which the Mexican President, at the request of Senator Borah, made a statement concerning the attitude of the petroleum companies. According to President Calles, 380 companies thereto had accepted and twenty-two had not accepted the law. Of the companies which had not accepted, President Calles listed the following: Standard of Indiana, Huasteca Petroleum, Mexican-Tuxpam Petroleum; Tamiagua Petroleum, Doheny and Bridge, Sinclair, Mexican Sinclair, Standard Atlantic, Cortez Aguada, Mexican Crude, Capuchinas, Panuco Boston, Gulf Coast, Mexican Gulf, American International.

With reference to the 380 companies that had complied with the law, President Calles stated that they had

solicited on the whole, 643 petroleum concessions on lands with claims previous to 1917.

These concessions embrace a total of 26,835,000 acres. The lands with claims prior to May 1, 1917, which the twenty-two companies possess who did not comply with the law, embrace a total extent of 1,661,000 acres. Consequently the lands which have not complied with the petroleum law represent approximately 6 per cent. of the total area of land on which claims exist prior to May 1, 1917.

Immediately after this Guy Stevens, director of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico, wrote to Senator Borah offering to furnish verification of any statement made by American oil companies and differing with several of President Calles' statements. Senator Borah replied "that he had no doubt that there were powerful interests which would like to see a complete break with Mexico and Mexico Cubanized," but that nothing could deflect him from his course of gathering facts.

The United States Senate, on Feb. 24, adopted a resolution offered by Senator Norris inquiring of Secretary of State Kellogg whether companies in which E. L. Doheny, Harry F. Sinclair, or "the Mellon interests" are involved are among those companies holding oil rights in Mexico, or whether these companies have complied with the new Mexican petroleum law. In response to this resolution President Coolidge on March 3 transmitted to the Senate a report from Acting Secretary of State

Grew saying that "save that it is advised that there is an American corporation known as the Mexican-Sinclair Corporation, the Department of State is not informed of the nature and extent of the interest, if any, held in Mexico, individually or as partners, or through stock of ownership, of any of the parties referred to in the resolution."

Harry F. Sinclair, Chairman of the Sinclair Consolidated Oil Corporation, arrived in Mexico City on Feb. 15. He was reported at that time to have expressed the belief that the Mexican oil situation created by the new oil law and its regulations would "ultimately work out all right." Later, on Feb. 22, Mr. Sinclair was reported to have admitted that he and Doheny and Mellon controlled approximately 82 per cent. of the oil lands in Mexico, and to have stated that his interests were so small as not to merit forceful defense by the United States.

Señor Manuel Tellez, Mexican Ambassador to the United States, left Washington on March 3 for Mexico and his departure occasioned many rumors, particularly as it was known that there had been an exchange of notes between the two Governments, the contents of which were secret. Señor Tellez, however, continued to reiterate that his purpose was to visit a sick brother.

The Mexican Government continued during February to suppress alleged rebel and Catholic movements directed against it. All priests in the State of Tamaulipas were ordered on Feb. 12 to assemble in Victoria by General Nelson, commander of Federal troops in that State, who claimed to have proofs that they were plotting against the peace of the republic. The following day five citizens of Tampico were arrested, charged with being members of a group who were plotting to overthrow the Calles Government. On Feb. 14 sharp fighting in running battles between rebels and Federal troops was reported from the States of Jalisco, Puebla, Guerrero, and Vera Cruz, and from the Yaqui country. Three days later Under Secretary of War Pina characterized the rebellions against the Calles Government as "dead."

Late in February there was a recurrence of rebel activity. In the State of Michoacan 150 rebels are reported to have attacked San Francisco del Rincon and to have killed a State deputy and four policemen. The same day seventeen rebels were reported to have been killed in a battle with Federal troops at La Concepción. From the State of Guerrero it was reported that

500 additional Federal troops had arrived at Acapulco to initiate a campaign against rebels in that State. Dispatches of Feb. 28 told of the activities of rebellious groups in the States of Jalisco, Colima, Guanajuato and Vera Cruz. In the State of Guanajuato thirty-four rebels and eleven Federal soldiers were reported to have been killed and many others wounded in a sanguinary conflict near Dolores Hidalgo. Revival of rebel activities in the valley of Mexico and rebellious movements in the States of Nuevo Leon and Zacatecas were reported on March 1. The following day Acting Secretary of War Pina, in denying reports that rebels in the State of Durango had defeated Federal troops, issued orders to both the military and civil police to arrest all persons found circulating false rumors about the revolutionary situation in Mexico. On March 3 the Department of Justice and the Police Bureau of the City of Mexico announced that subversive agitation in Mexico City had been stamped out and that anti-Government propaganda had ceased. Reports on March 7 indicated that the War Department had intensified its campaign and had issued an order of "no quarter to the rebels."

Several decrees and rulings which relate to the conduct of religious services in Mexico were recently issued. Permits to perform religious services were granted to three clergymen of the American Episcopal Church in Mexico on Feb. 2. The issuance of these permits is in accordance with a law adopted by the Mexican Congress at its last session which permits non-Spanish-speaking foreign colonies to have a limited number of ministers in their churches for a period of six years. In a formal statement issued by Attorney General Ortega on Feb. 3, permission was given for religious services to be conducted in chapels of private residences by priests, but only on condition that they accept the Governmental regulations on religion, including the requirement that they register with the civil authorities. On March 3 Archbishop Ruiz y Flores, as spokesman for the Mexican Catholic Episcopate, authorized Catholic laymen of Mexico, in view of the suspension of all religious ceremonies requiring the services of priests, to perform ceremonies which, during the present emergency, would be considered by the Church acceptable as substitutes for priestly administration of rites for the dying and the performance of marriage ceremonies. Religious ceremonies requiring the services of priests have been suspended

in Mexico since Aug. 1, 1926, as a protest against the enforcement of the religious and educational provisions of the Mexican Constitution.

The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate on Feb. 16 reported favorably a resolution by Senator Borah which requests President Coolidge to negotiate with Mexico for an extension of the life of the General Claims Commission. Should this action not be taken the commission will terminate next August, by which time, the resolution recites, it will not be able to complete its work. The resolution also requests the President "to make further arrangements for the expeditious adjudication" of the claims that have been or may be filed with the General Claims Commission.

General Enrique Estrada, former Secretary of War under President Obregón, was convicted at Los Angeles, Cal., on Feb. 28, of conspiracy to violate the Neutrality act in an attempt to form an army to invade Mexico. Estrada was sentenced to serve twenty-one months in the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kan., and to pay a \$10,000 fine. Twelve members of Estrada's staff were sentenced to terms of over a year each and were ordered to pay fines ranging from \$1,000 to \$5,000.

Nicaragua

PEDRO ZEPEDA, the Nicaraguan Liberal Minister to Mexico, telegraphed on Feb. 27 to John Barton Payne, Chairman of the American Red Cross, and to the Red Cross throughout the world, to do something to relieve the plight of the Nicaraguan Liberals. Zepeda charged that "Admiral Latimer's blockade, preventing food and medical attention from reaching the wounded, thus causing their death, violates every principle of international right and is contrary to fundamental humanity."

A majority of the Costa Rican Congress on Feb. 27 signed a resolution requesting Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Relations Committee of the United States Senate, and other Senators to oppose intervention in Nicaragua by armed forces of the United States.

The testimony of Stokely W. Morgan, Chief of the Latin-American Division of the State Department, given before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 8, definitely indicated that Secretary Kellogg was opposed to the proposal of President Diaz for a treaty of supervision.

A peace mission which visited José Mon-

cada, military leader of the Liberals, received little satisfaction, as he refused to act without orders from Sacasa; he also intimated that he was contemplating launching an offensive.

On March 7, 1,600 more American marines were landed in Corinto. The British Chargé d'Affaires accordingly expressed himself as satisfied that British interests would be protected. The British cruiser Colombo, after spending a week off Corinto, to provide refuge, if necessary, for British subjects, departed on March 5.

Panama

OFFICIAL announcement was made on Feb. 4 that Panaman national defense bonds totaling \$225,000, which were sold in 1921 to finance the war with Costa Rica, will be redeemed at par on March 10. The bonds will be redeemed with funds derived from the recent New York loan of \$1,000,000.

The Panama Chamber of Commerce on Feb. 26 telegraphed Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, requesting a Senatorial investigation of conditions in Panama. The petition stated that "injury" was being done to Panama because of the canal and commercial competition through the commissary operated by the canal authorities.

El Salvador

DR. PIO ROMERO-BOSQUE was inaugurated President of El Salvador on March 1. He succeeds Dr. Alfonso Quiñones Molina.

Haiti

THE annual report of the Financial Adviser-General Receiver of Haiti, W. W. Cumberland, for the fiscal year October, 1925-September, 1926, published recently by the Department of State, contains the following significant introductory statement:

No fiscal year since the conclusion of the treaty has been so generally satisfactory as 1925-26. Unmistakeable progress was made in commercial and financial development, but of more importance was the equally pronounced progress in social amelioration. There is a strong probability that in 1925-26 a peak was reached in Haitian financial administration which will not again be equaled for several years. All contributing factors were favorable toward making the fiscal year 1926-26 an unqualified success from the financial view, but prospects for immediately following years are not correspondingly brilliant.

C. W. H.

South America

AVIATION commanded the attention of the South American countries during the past month, notably the round South America trip of the American Good-will fliers and the adventurous journey of the Uruguyan, Major Tadeo Larre-Borges, from Europe to his native land.

The tragic death of two of the American Good-will fliers, Captain Clinton F. Woolsey and Lieutenant John W. Benton, in a midair collision of planes over the flying field of Buenos Aires shortly after they had been formally greeted by the Mayor, filled the South American press with expressions of sorrow. Arrival in that city marked the midpoint in the flight from the United States around South America.

The attempt of Major Tadeo Larre-Borges and his three companions to fly from Europe to Uruguay resulted in the wreck of the plane on the west coast of Africa. The aviators were seized by tribesmen and released only on the payment of ransom.

Brazil

PRESIDENT LUIS, on Feb. 10, signed a decree abolishing the state of siege which had existed generally throughout the country, stating that, while some outlaw forces were still in the field, the Federal troops were in control. The Federal troops broke the strength of the revolutionists in two battles in the State of Matto Grosso and an encounter near the Jauru River.

Improvement along economic lines had been less marked. Congress failed to pass the budget for 1926 last year, and the budget of 1925 was made applicable.

The collection of the income tax in Brazil has thus far proven unsatisfactory. With a view to encouraging payment by those subject to tax in 1926, the Government announced in October that those making returns not later than Nov. 30 and making payment not later than Dec. 31, would enjoy a 75 per cent. reduction in the amount payable, but even this inducement did not produce the desired results.

The national budget for 1927 estimates a surplus of \$1,370,160, but since the estimates did not take account of the authorized salary increases to Congressmen and Federal employes, amounting to over \$19,000,000, the usual deficit would seem to be indicated.

General conditions in the money market of Brazil have improved in spite of the

fact that President Luis has continued his policy of contracting the paper circulation. Discount rates have fallen somewhat, being 9 per cent. for the best paper in both Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo.

Colombia

THE strike at Barranca Bermeja on the Magdalena River ended the middle of February. Martial law was continued, however from that point to Giradot, 350 miles further south on the Magdalena. Barranca Bermeja is the seat of operations of the most important oil companies in Colombia. The strike paralyzed freight movement to Bogotá, Medellin and other interior points. The Government has announced that martial law will be declared along the Pacific coast of Colombia, should the threatened strike in the Department of Valle del Cauca materialize. Such a strike would tie up Barranquilla, the Pacific port, and paralyze all freight movement on the Pacific Railway.

Venezuela

THE outstanding development in Venezuela during recent months has been the rapid growth of the oil industry. The export of petroleum from the Maracaibo region during 1926 reached 36,000,000 barrels as compared with 19,000,000 in 1925.

The law relating to petroleum, promulgated June 30, 1920, states clearly the rights and privileges of foreigners in the development of oil lands. A representative of the Atlantic Refining Company writes, regarding it:

Venezuela has probably the most enlightened petroleum law of any South American Government. The Gomez Government solicited the cooperation of American and British oil companies in the formulation of this law, which went into effect first in 1918 and since has been amended several times. It is based on the Federal ownership of all subsoil rights, which doctrine has never been questioned from the time of its promulgation by the various royal decrees of the Spanish Emperors. The decrees actually had in contemplation the precious metals only, but they have been interpreted as comprehensive enough to include minerals and hydrocarbons. Fortunately, therefore, no serious international complications can develop, as in Mexico, from a transition from private to Federal ownership.

Concessions are granted by the President in blocks of 25,000 acres, operating leases are valid for forty years, and machinery imported for operating purposes is duty

free. Maracaibo is the centre of the development to date.

Dr. José Ignacio Cárdenas was appointed a member of the Cabinet of President Gómez on Feb. 28. He has announced a new program of public works for the country, with special emphasis laid on road construction.

Uruguay

PRESIDENTIAL elections were held in Uruguay last November, but the final results remained uncertain until the middle of February. The total vote cast was 275,000. Dr. Juan Campistegui of the Colorado Party was finally declared elected by the Electoral Board, with a margin of 1,400 votes, and was installed in office on March

1, succeeding Señor José Serrato. In his inaugural address the new executive outlined a program for internal improvements, and advocated an increase in both army and navy, though the message made plain that Uruguay subscribed as loyally as ever to the principles of arbitration.

Chile

THE vigorous campaign against Bolshevism (described elsewhere in this number) has been the chief event in political circles during the past month. Deportation of prominent Chileans out of sympathy with Premier Ibañez has continued, and 200 Communists were reported on March 9 as prisoners on Masafuera, a rocky island far out in the Pacific Ocean. H. T. C.

The British Empire

THE victory on Feb. 24 of D. P. Pielou, Labor candidate in the Stourbridge Division of Worcestershire, Premier Baldwin's home country, was considered significant in view of the claim of the Laborites that the country has lost confidence in the Government. This is the sixth Labor gain since the general election of 1924.

In the Liberal Party the situation has ostensibly remained unaltered, the chief event of the month being two caustic demands, on Feb. 15 and 27, by Lord Rosebery, Liberal Premier in 1894, for information concerning the origin of Lloyd George's campaign fund. He asked point blank whether it was derived from the sale of honors. Lloyd George refrained from answering personally, but a statement issued from his headquarters read: "The fund Mr. Lloyd George controls was raised in a way which does not differ from that followed by the Conservative or Liberal Parties in the days before the Coalition, and all along it has been devoted to legitimate party purposes." As a direct result of Lord Rosebery's demand, a Labor member introduced a bill in Commons on March 8, making illegal any arrangement with the object of recommending the conferring of any title or honor upon any person in return for a donation to a political party fund. Sir Herbert Samuel assumed the Chairmanship of the Liberal Party organization in the middle of February.

The voting of £7,000 toward the expenses of the trip of the Duke and Duchess of York on Feb. 17 was the signal for a Laborite out-

burst in the House of Commons in language the Chairman characterized as "disgraceful." Another expression of feeling against the Government was called forth by the mining explosion in Wales in which fifty men were killed. The Prime Minister and Mrs. Baldwin, when they arrived on a visit of sympathy, were booed by the miners and their automobile surrounded. Labor leaders, however, expressed regret for the incident.

A Labor amendment regretting the Government's proposal to reform the trade unions was defeated on Feb. 14 and was commented on by the press as a "rather aimless proceeding, since the details of the bill had not been disclosed." A bill to prevent the entry of foreign contributions for the assistance of one side or the other in British industrial disputes was defeated in the Commons on Feb. 18, a majority of Conservatives voting against it, and the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, characterizing it as "the wrong way to deal with the Red menace." George A. Spencer, Labor Party Whip, was expelled from the party on Feb. 22, because of his attitude in favor of negotiating district settlements during the coal strike. A motion embodying Labor criticisms of the Government's mining policy was defeated in the Commons on March 2.

The report of the Committee on National Debt and Taxation, of which Lord Colwyn was Chairman, was published during February. Its chief conclusions were that the £200,000,000 decrease in the national savings since 1914 gives "ground for anxiety, but

not for pessimism"; that the burden of taxation is actually less crushing than is frequently represented and has not reduced the general standard of living of the working classes below the pre-war level; and that there is no justification whatever for the adoption of a capital levy.

Canada

FINANCE MINISTER ROBB'S fourth budget, presented on Feb. 17, showed an estimated national debt reduction for the present year of \$31,000,000. Its chief feature was a plan to reduce taxation charges \$27,000,000 by a cut of 10 per cent. on all income tax and of 20 per cent. on all sales tax rates. Revenue for the fiscal year amounted to \$394,800,000 and the favorable trade balance was reported as \$250,000,000. On March 1, for the first time since the war, Parliament was asked to increase expenditures for national defense, the estimates being \$15,900,000—more than \$3,000,000 over last year—to be applied principally to aviation development.

Australia

THE judgment of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, announced on Feb. 23, reducing standard hours in the engineering industry from forty-eight to forty-four in the week, caused a stir in industrial circles, as it was generally regarded as a test case. It was severely criticized by employers, who considered that the adoption of the piecework system in all industries must inevitably follow.

The executive body of the Australian Labor Party adopted, on Feb. 22, what was characterized by the press as "one of the most remarkable documents ever emanating from headquarters," it being aimed directly against Communism in labor councils. It was adopted for immediate circulation among labor organizations so as to advise them against countenancing Red rules, formulated by a committee appointed at the last Labor conference, which, it declared, were imported from Russia and designed to allow Communists to penetrate the Labor Party. "The deadly grip of Communism," the manifesto read, "gradually is becoming tighter on the Labor movement. The plotters who have been at work for the past four years have been Willis, Voight, Garden and others acting in behalf of the Communist Party." This denunciation of Willis, who is a member of the New South Wales Cabinet, by his party executive is unparalleled in the his-

tory of the movement. Mr. Lang, the Premier, when questioned in Parliament regarding the manifesto, declared that he knew nothing of any Communist plot and had perfect confidence in Mr. Willis. A meeting of the New South Wales Labor Caucus on Feb. 14 had already voted to exclude all Communists and Reds from the Labor movement.

The Trades Labor Council of New South Wales decided to "enlist members for a volunteer labor army, pledged to maintain direct free speech and assemblage and to organize collective action for the protection of the working classes in the event of international developments."

It was announced during February that the Liberal and Country Parties in South Australia had formed an anti-Labor pact, looking toward the March elections.

Edward G. Theodore, former Premier and Treasurer of Queensland, was on Feb. 27 elected as a Labor member of the Federal Parliament by the Dalley constituency in New South Wales. This was generally regarded as the first step toward making him leader of the Federal Labor Party.

The Governments of both New South Wales and South Australia are considering steps to break up large estates and allot the land to small farmers.

South Africa

THE Provincial Elections were held on Feb. 15, with the following results: Cape Province—South African Party, 26; Nationalists, 21; Independents, 3; Labor, 1. Transvaal—Nationalists, 23; South African Party, 19; Labor, 8. Natal—South African Party, 20; Independents, 2; Nationalists, 2; Labor, 1. It will be seen from this that Labor suffered a severe setback, losing four seats in Natal, three in Cape Province and one in Transvaal. The London *Times* was of the opinion that this was a result of the party's official support of the Flag Bill and insistence that it be passed by the Lower House this session.

Settlement of the long-standing dispute between South Africa and India over Indian immigration and the status of Indians in South Africa was reached on Feb. 21, Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, reading in the House of Assembly the agreement reached by the Round Table Conference, which has been investigating the problem. The most important points were that South Africa agreed to withdraw the proposed Reserved Areas Bill, to assist in preparing "Indians domiciled in the Union to conform

with Western standards of life," and to co-operate with the Indian Government in a scheme of voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa at Government expense. The agreement was not regarded as a definite victory for either side, but both expressed themselves as satisfied. *The Times of India* referred to it as a "triumph for Imperial statesmanship, since the change in the attitude of the Nationalist Government in South Africa is largely due to the Imperial Conference."

India

THE first budget of Lord Irwin's Government was presented to the new Assembly by Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, on Feb. 28. It showed an actual improvement of £1,500,000 over the revised estimates, a surplus for the fourth year in succession and a reduction in the annual cost of the debt service of £4,000,000 in three years, all of which was considered very satisfactory.

A project for a separate Indian navy was announced on Feb. 9 by the Viceroy at the first session of the new Council of State, where it was well received. On March 9 the bill creating it was introduced in the British Parliament and met with strong opposition from the Laborites, who objected to it on the ground that it was designed to increase the armaments of the British Empire under the guise of giving additional autonomy to India.

The bill for the protection of the Indian steel industry by a system of import duties was adopted by the Legislative Assembly on Feb. 21.

Newfoundland

THE area of Newfoundland was trebled on March 1, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council awarded that province 120,000 square miles of Labrador, comprising 60,000 square miles of spruce forests valued at \$250,000,000, thus ending a dispute which has lasted twenty-five years.

R. H.

France and Belgium

THE detailed report of French trade in 1926 indicated that the excess of imports over exports to foreign countries was 1,941,000,000 francs. French exports to England during the year, compared with the year 1925, increased 1,621,721,000 francs, whereas imports from England increased only 670,213,000. German trade with France showed an opposite result, imports from Germany increasing nearly double the increase of exports.

It was announced on Feb 25 that the largest bombing plane in the world, built by the French Government, had proved a success as the result of several trial flights. The plane carried a gross weight of more than 3,600 pounds; its construction cost approximately \$450,000.

The Government, during February, intervened to prevent the extensive foreign buying of French Government and corporation bonds on the ground that such securities might be suddenly thrown on the market to the injury of French exchange. The action was taken as a result of buying by Germans especially.

The Senate on Feb. 24 ratified the treaty with the United States to prevent illegal importation of intoxicating liquors into the United States. This treaty, like the one

with Great Britain, establishes a "twelve-mile limit."

The law placing in the hands of the Government the sole right to import oil, including gasoline, becomes effective April 1. It is not expected that the Government will make much use of this power, but American oil companies doing business in France have already protested against the enforcement of the act. Several French journals, on the other hand, urged the Premier to take measures to enforce the law.

The census figures of 1926 indicated that approximately two and a half million foreigners were living in France. For the last ten years foreign immigration has been easily assimilated, and the Government two months ago took measures to facilitate the naturalization of permanent foreign residents. But the recent rise of the franc, and the consequent unemployment, has resulted in a changed attitude toward the foreign population, which found expression in February in the measures of the Government to restrict immigration. Only those foreigners were admitted who had contracted for jobs in trades which the Minister of Labor judged capable of absorbing foreign labor without doing harm to French laborers. During the month thousands of foreigners left France.

The bill providing for nationalization of all needful industry in time of war was adopted by the Chamber on March 7, and power was conferred on the Government to requisition according to its needs. On March 11, after a debate on causes and remedies for unemployment, the Chamber voted confidence in the Government's financial plans and policies.

Belgium

PLANS have been begun for a complete mobilization of Belgium in case of war.

It was announced on Feb. 17 that a Mobilization Committee charged with the task of formulating such plans had been appointed. One of the high officers in the

army will preside and each Ministry will have a member. The commission is expected to work out a detailed scheme to enlist not only the entire man power of the nation, but also the economic and financial power. The announcement was succeeded shortly after by grave warnings by the Government to the effect that Belgium's position in regard to security was more critical today than it was in 1914. It was hinted that this alleged grave situation was connected with the visit, early in February, of M. Vandervelde to Paris, where it was supposed that he consulted with M. Briand in respect to the international situation, in general, and the question of German policy and the allied evacuation of Germany in particular.

C. B.

Germany and Austria

SHARP protest because of the German Government's alleged niggardly pension policy, so far as the rank and file of the war pensioners were concerned, was voiced at a mass meeting of war cripples and soldiers' dependents held in Berlin on Feb. 1. In condemning the striking from the national budget of 1927 of 100,000,000 marks (\$23,800,000) originally destined for welfare work among the pensioners, it was pointed out that while the average war cripple drew only 400 marks a year for his sacrifices for the Fatherland, a large number of former high army and navy officers were enjoying annual pensions of as much as 8,000 marks.

The struggle between the religious organizations and the free-thinking elements for control of the public schools of the Fatherland continued without respite according to accounts printed in recent issues of Berlin papers. Under the system obtaining in most of the German States, in the absence of a national school standard there are "worldly" schools where no religion is taught; "confessional" schools where some religion is in the curriculum; and "community" schools where both styles function side by side. The "worldly" schools are somewhat handicapped in that they are established only upon the specific request of a sufficient number of parents in the various neighborhoods. Consequently, the free-thinking organizations are constantly spurring their members to petition for more "worldly" schools.

Minister of the Interior von Keudell has

advocated a return to the Bismarckian policy of controlling the distribution of emigration. He wants to keep the best elements at home and desires that those settling in foreign countries shall do propaganda work in Germanism and retain their German culture, character and patriotism while working for the commercial or other interests of Germany. Speaking before the Plenary Committee of the Reichstag, Dr. von Keudell said that it was the duty of the Government to encourage the emigration of elements capable of strengthening Germanism abroad, but to discourage and hinder all who were likely to discredit the republic or who were badly needed at home, such as mechanics, highly trained technicians, representatives of important professions, and especially farmers. He declared that the Government must find some means to preserve the latter classes for the Fatherland by providing work for them. He added: "The advancement of German culture necessitates a determined cultivation of Germanism abroad. Unfortunately, efforts in this direction are insufficient and disorganized. Better methods and more organization are required. The Ministry of the Interior must have a central department for the cultivation of Germanism. The question of the cultural security of the minorities inside and outside of Germany also demands greater attention."

That many things in Germany are being subjected to censorship seems evident from the following list of restrictive measures: Admission of youths under 18 to theatres,

art and other exhibitions and amusement enterprises not previously certified as pure by boards of police censors; participation of girls and boys under 18 in theatrical, operatic or ballet schools and in "life classes" in art academies; public performance of dances like the Charleston and Black Bottom, unless danced in a manner approved by the censor; phonograph records reproducing songs which are considered suitable for the stage, but not for the home; employment of minors in the movies; revues and cabaret shows condemned as immoral in dialogue or in display of nudity, the decision to rest with a police censorship board, including church representatives.

According to the press, eroticism runs rampant both in theatrical productions and in the less ambitious but equally salacious shows presented in dozens of well-patronized cabarets. The Nationalist, Catholic Centre and People's Party groups in the Prussian Diet have opened a drive against stage indecency. They also want delegates of the Protestant and Catholic churches to have seats on the Art Commission of Berlin's Police Headquarters.

The tax revenue for January, as officially reported, showed receipts of 763,500,000 marks, the largest monthly revenue ever recorded. For the completed ten months of the financial year taxation yielded 6,057 million marks, as against 6,685 millions estimated for the whole year. Taxes pledged for reparations yielded 1,980 millions in the ten-month period, and this was actually 63 millions more than had been estimated for the whole year.

Austria

THE difficulties which the Austrian Government is having with the strong Socialist minority over the old age and invalid insurance act led Chancellor Seipel on Feb. 22 to ask the Socialists whether they desired the parliamentary elections to be held this Spring or next Autumn, when the mandate of the present Parliament would normally expire. It would be impossible in the Summer, he said, to get a true expression of the public will, as the peasants would be busy and the city workers would be away on vacations. Dr. Otto Bauer, Socialist leader, replied that he wanted the election to be held before May 15. The Government's action in consulting the minority about the date of the elections and taking care to have them most favorable to ascertain the will of the entire elec-



THE THIRD DAWES YEAR

His Master's Voice (Die Stimme Seines Herrn) broadcasting from Wall Street to Germany: "Eat less and pay more."

—Dorffbarbier, Berlin

torate, may seem normal in the West, but it is in striking contrast to the attitude of the ruling majority in nearly all the countries in Central Europe. There the general practice is for the Government parties to take the utmost advantage of their tactical position and to hold elections at whatever date seems the most likely to result in victory for them.

By a quick, secret raid on March 2 the Federal Government, using both troops and police, occupied the huge Vienna arsenal, now controlled by a private company, and carried away rifles officially stated to number between 1,500 and 2,000. The raid, which was generally considered as part of a political game connected with the approaching elections, aroused strong feeling among the Socialist workmen and threatened to cause mobilization of the Socialist "Republican Guard," strikes and possibly bloodshed. These dangers were nipped in the bud, apparently through a typical last-minute Austrian party compromise, and, except for verbal clashes in Parliament and the press, tranquility was restored. It was openly rumored that the arms belonged to the Socialists, but the Socialist leader, Bauer, denied this on the floor of Parliament.

H. J. C.

Italy

POPE PIUS in a recent address expressed vigorous disapproval of the theory which would put the State above man in importance. While he did not mention Fascism by name, the implication was obvious. "Man is not," he declared, "and never can be a means, he is the end—not, of course, the ultimate supreme end, which is God—but in the creation man is really the end and centre about which everything is organized. Therefore neither the concepts of race nor those of the State or nation should supersede that of man as the end." The State is made for man, not man for the State.

The statement that the historian, Guglielmo Ferrero, had asked the Italian Government for a passport in order that he might go on a lecture tour in America and that he had been refused, was denied by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, Premier Mussolini's personal newspaper, in referring to Signor Ferrero's alleged request, commented as follows:

Professor Ferrero gives proof of possessing unequaled effrontery. He has not yet understood that Fascismo is revolutionary and as such has certain rights, first among which is to defend itself against evil elements which wish to drown the beauty of its history in a sea of falsehoods. His protest is therefore ridiculous.

A revolutionary Government gives no explanations, and much less so to an enemy who should judiciously avail himself of his right to keep silent. An old relic of democratic intellectuality, Professor Ferrero has sufficiently stood in the way of Italian culture, and he has acquired a certain fame abroad only because he has always been ready to calumniate his country.

Signor Ferrero is anti-Italian, an anti-Roman, anti-Fascist, anti-everything alive and strong in this Italy, which is guilty in his eyes of the terrible crime of never having taken him seriously, despite the great harm he has done to her. He shall not go to America to feast with the money of Freemasonry on a tour of anti-Italian propaganda.

The Fascist militia has compiled the following decalogue:

1. Remember that a Fascista, and especially a militiaman, must not believe in perpetual peace.
2. If you are punished, it is because you deserve it.
3. One's country may be served even by standing guard over two gallons of gasoline.
4. Your comrades must be your brothers, because they live with you and think as you do.
5. Your musket and your uniform are given to you not to spoil in idleness, but to keep ready for war.
6. Never say: "It doesn't matter because the

Government pays," because it is you who pay and the Government is the Government you have given yourself and whose uniform you wear.

7. Discipline is the sun of armies; without it there are no soldiers, but only confusion and defeat.

8. A volunteer can plead no extenuating circumstances when he disobeys.

9. One thing you must consider precious above all others, Mussolini's life.

It was announced on March 9 that the Cabinet had approved an "organic law for the administration of Cyrenaica and Tripoli." This means that the powers of practical self-government granted to them in 1919 are revoked. Rights to universal suffrage, colonial parliamentary systems and other forms of local governmental autonomy are thus taken away. The local legislative power will be exclusively in the hands of Rome, the Governors having purely administrative functions. The local population will have opportunity to collaborate only through a council of Government and a general council, both to be named by the Governor.

The Treaty of Paris of Oct. 28, 1920, between Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan recognizing the union of Bessarabia with Rumania, was ratified on March 8. It was decided at the time the treaty was signed that it was to have full force only after ratification by at least three of the signatory powers. As Italy is the third power to accept the treaty, her decision now makes this former Russian province definitely Rumanian.

Great attention is being paid in Italy to the development of the air force. A decree is now being put into operation which enables the Government to eliminate elements which it regards as unfriendly. It provides that any officer of the air force or the army above the rank of colonel or of similar grades in the navy may be dismissed from the permanent service, even for reason not included in the laws as they now exist.

The flight of Commander de Pinedo, the Italian aviator, from the Cape Verde Islands across the Atlantic aroused great enthusiasm in Italy. Although he was obliged to land on an island off the coast of Brazil without reaching the mainland, he made a notable flight, covering in about twelve hours the long stretch of 1,432 miles over the ocean. It was hailed by the *Giornale d'Italia* "as a new proof of virile national power. It demonstrated the capac-

ity of the fliers, the excellence of the methods employed, the resistance and efficiency of the hydroplane, the power of the motors, the splendid preparation of the route, all of which is due to the aeronautical policy inaugurated by the Fascist régime, which aims to resurrect the Italian aerial forces—men and machines."

Reports from Italy indicate an improvement in her trade balance. While the importation is in excess of exportation to the amount of 7,200,000,000 lire, it is a decrease of 925,000,000 lire as compared with 1925. Her trade with Russia has greatly increased, from 20,000,000 rubles in 1925 to 56,000,000 rubles in 1926. The policy of deflation which she has been carrying on is reported to have slowed down production without disorganizing it.

The recently created Institute of Foreign

Exchange has been put into operation. The entire dealings in foreign exchange on the market for the account of the Italian Treasury are concentrated in this one organization.

Statistics as to emigration show an increase in overseas emigration, but owing to a smaller emigration to European countries a total decrease. Argentine in 1926 received more than 60,000 Italian emigrants, which is more than were received by any other overseas country. Emigration to the United States, including Italians returning to this country from a temporary visit to Italy, was, according to Italian authorities, approximately 36,000. The submission of the Sultanates of Obbia and Mijerthain in Italian Somaliland were officially announced on March 10, thus completing Italy's conquest of the territory. E. E.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

Albania

IT was reported on Feb. 18 that the Albanian Government had submitted to the Governments of Greece and Yugoslavia proposals for territorial guarantee pacts similar to the Treaty of Tirana with Italy.

The increasing activity of Italy in Albanian affairs called forth extensive press comment during the month. The fact that Italian army engineers are engaged in planning and building a system of highways, financed from credit which Italy has advanced to Albania, is regarded as significant. Italians are also making a topographical survey of the country and are taking active part in developing the port of Durazzo, damaged by the recent earthquake. The army has been completely reorganized under the instruction of Italian officers and has been greatly enlarged, almost half the total budget expenditure going toward its support. Moreover, majority stock in Albania's one aviation line is owned by Italian interests. The Italian loans to Albania amount to \$15,000,000, with annual interest and amortization charges of \$1,700,000, guaranteed by salt and tobacco monopolies or if these fail by customs receipts. Since the entire Albanian exports do not surpass \$1,000,000 a year and the interest charges on the Italian loan amount to one-third of the annual budget, many observers feel that this loan

constitutes a dangerously heavy burden on Albania's finances.

It was persistently rumored during February that Ahmed Zogu, the Italophile President, was planning a revolution in April to give Italy the pretext of landing troops to occupy the country. Fear of this was also voiced by Bishop Fan Noli, the exiled ex-Premier, in an interview to the press on March 10.

Hungary

ZOLTAN SZANTO, brother of the War Commissar during the Communist régime, was arrested at the Austrian frontier on Feb. 27 and confessed that he was in Hungary under orders from Moscow with the purpose of organizing a Bolshevik party. About fifty other agitators were arrested.

Finance Minister Bud stated on Feb. 26 that the Government had decided to discourage the plans of the Municipality of Budapest to secure large foreign loans for an extensive building program and that it would be allowed to borrow only \$12,000,000.

Poland

THE negotiations for a German-Polish commercial treaty, broken off during February, were resumed on March 9, Foreign Ministers Stresemann and Zaleski announcing that they had reached a basis of accord for reopening the subject. The

conference was arranged by France and Britain at Geneva.

A Polish loan commission visited the United States during March with the purpose of obtaining a stabilization loan of sufficient size (from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000) to guarantee Polish exchange for two or more years to come. To the time this article was written the efforts of the commission had not met with signal success, the general feeling seeming to be that the United States market is at present overloaded with foreign bonds.

Rumania

THE formal ratification by Italy on March 8 of the Treaty of Paris recognizing the union of Bessarabia with Rumania was greeted with great enthusiasm in Rumania, where it was regarded as a signal victory for the Averescu Cabinet.

On the other hand *Izvestia*, the official mouthpiece of the Soviet Government, denounced the Italian ratification, which was the final step toward completion of the four-power sanction of Rumania's possession of Bessarabia, as against the claims of Soviet Russia, as "an act openly unfriendly to Soviet Russia and a menace to the friendly relations between the two countries." Yugoslavia also expressed great dissatisfaction, the consensus of opinion seeming to be that the Yugoslav Government would not recognize the annexation until Russia did. Japan's signature is not needed to make the ratification final.

Rumanian authorities reported the discovery of a Communist plot on Feb. 26. Several of the ringleaders were arrested and a secret printing plant seized.

The Rumanian Government on March 1 authorized the issuance of the first gold currency bearing the portrait of King Ferdinand.
F. A. O.

Russia

KERENSKY, head of the Menshevist Government before the Bolshevik revolution in November, 1917, came to the United States at the end of February merely as a visitor, he said, but also with the hope that he might write on Russian affairs and earn some money to extend his activities in Russia. He assured the American newspaper men who sought an interview that the Soviet Government now faced its greatest crisis, for it had exhausted at least 10,000,000,000 rubles of capital and used up all of Russia's resources. He said that there were 2,000,000 Russian workers out of employment and 16,000,000 Russian peasants, unable to make a living on the land, who were flocking to the cities, where there was even less opportunity for them. He insisted that the Soviet Government was giving a false impression when it said that conditions were improving slowly but steadily in Russia. Russian industry has risen to 80 per cent. of its pre-war efficiency; but, said Kerensky, the real condition of Russian industry is seen, not in comparison with its pre-war production, but with the advance of other countries during the past fifteen years. He declared that the working classes were becoming disillusioned with regard to Communism and that the peasants, although they now had their own land, were dissatisfied because they could not get the machinery necessary

to carry on their agriculture. He asserted: "The present deceptive peace is the calm before the storm. The same conditions prevail now which prevailed before the revolution."

The report of labor conditions made before the Congress of Trade Unions in Moscow on Jan. 17 added some weight to Kerensky's statements. The Commissar of Labor admitted that unemployment in Russia was threatening to become a permanent condition. The number of unemployed, according to the Commissar, increased more than 100,000 in 1926; the total of unemployed, ascertainable from labor registries, was well over 2,000,000, and there were many more out of work in seasonal occupations which did not come under the control of labor registries. The Commissar especially deplored the fact that there were nearly 1,000,000 persons under the age of 18 out of work. Representatives of the trade unions sharply criticized the Commissariat of Labor for failure to handle the problem. The Commissar himself gave it as his opinion that Communistic methods of regulating the labor market were no longer possible.

Information came from Moscow on Feb. 17 that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party planned to make the reduction of retail prices the major feature of domestic policy for the next six months.

The hope expressed was that by July 1 the prices of manufactured goods would be reduced not less than 10 per cent. The Central Executive Committee's decision was considered especially significant because of its coincidence with the general electoral campaign for selection of new Soviets throughout the Union, from the smallest village Soviet to the All-Russian Soviet Federal Congress.

The high cost of living is considered by the Communist leaders as one of the most serious menaces to the continuance of the Soviet régime. If they can but reduce the cost of manufactured goods and prevent hoarding and profiteering, as well as supply the goods in demand, they will have gone far toward assuring themselves continuance in power.

The Soviet Commissariat of War has recently decided to extend compulsory military training to all secondary schools and universities in the Union. The Soviet authorities plan to organize their territorial

system of military training on the Swiss model.

Nations of Northern Europe

A GUARANTEE treaty between Soviet Russia and Latvia, providing that both countries maintain neutrality in the event that either is attacked by a third, was initiated at Riga on March 11, according to the Latvian Foreign Minister, Cielens. He denied that League obligations would be jeopardized by it, and stated that Russia had agreed to the principle of the establishment of a conciliation commission with a neutral Chairman. Nevertheless the event caused great discussion in League circles and was regarded by some as a blow at Poland.

From Geneva, where the Council of the League was in session, information was given out on March 7 that the British and the French Governments had taken steps ten days before at Kovno and Warsaw to settle the controversy between Lithuania and Poland over Vilna.

A. B. D.

Other Nations of Europe

Spain

THE new foreign policy of Spain, analyzed in a recent issue of CURRENT HISTORY, will not be carried out by the minister who sponsored it and gave it publication, Señor Yanguas, until lately the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Owing to a divergence of views between Señor Yanguas and Primo de Rivera, the Prime Minister, over the question of international policy in Morocco, especially Tangier, the Foreign Minister resigned on Feb. 20, and Primo de Rivera himself took over the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Señor Yanguas will resume his professorship of international law at the University of Madrid.

Peace is not yet completely restored in Morocco. During the month an outbreak among dissident tribes was reported from the Spanish zone. The report said the Ktama tribe forced the Spanish auxiliaries occupying Bab Silb to evacuate after eight days' fighting, in the course of which the leader of the auxiliaries, Mahommed Elfosi, was killed. The Spanish Colonel, Cappaz, set out with a column to aid the auxiliaries, but was obliged to return to his base.

Within a week after the resignation of Foreign Minister Yanguas, General de Rivera had another Cabinet office in his

hands, when on Feb. 26 the Minister of Education handed in his resignation, following the wholesale withdrawal of professors of the Central University of Madrid, headed by the rector, in protest against the new régime in the Spanish universities. It is doubtful whether de Rivera will permanently assume the duties of this Ministry, as he did in the case of Foreign Affairs, since the intellectual department is the one in which the Dictator freely admits he is lacking. At the same time he did not hesitate to accept the degree of *Doctor Honoris Causa* conferred upon him by the University of Salamanca, being evidently of the opinion that his experience and intelligence fully qualify him for that honor.

Portugal

FURTHER information concerning the February revolution, although incomplete, makes it evident that the affair was extremely violent. Since it broke out almost simultaneously in the two most important cities, Oporto and Lisbon, the power of the Government was given a severe test. Apparently, though there were many notable figures among the rebels, the bulk of the army and navy remained loyal to the Dictator and he was able to restore order in three

or four days. Estimates of the casualties differ, but the number of dead may reach a thousand. Destruction of buildings both in Oporto and Lisbon was serious. The American Legation was in the line of fire in Lisbon and Minister Dearing was obliged to take refuge in the house of a secretary about four hundred yards away and depend upon the courtesy of the British Legation for telephonic communication.

General Carmona subsequently tightened the reins of Government in various ways, but declared that his measures were only temporary. He withdrew the right to strike, saying that strikes had tended to be seditious and had been employed to upset regular Government. That there was still a party of adherents to historic royalty appeared from the order which suspended the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* for declaring that the present situation was favorable to the early restoration of monarchy.

Holland

THAT the native uprisings in the Dutch colonial possessions in the Far East, which broke out in Western Java in November and in Sumatra in January, and were put down with considerable loss of life among the rebels, were due more to mismanagement by former Governor General Fock and former Dutch Colonial Minister de Graaf than to Communist propaganda, was the assertion contained in an article written for *Het Volk*, the leading Socialist paper of Holland, by I. E. Stokvis, a member of the People's Council in Java.

Mynheer Stokvis, whose principal job in the council was said to be the voicing of what the natives "feel and think, but dare not say," corroborated to a large extent the official statement by the Dutch Government printed in *The New York Times* of Dec. 26 regarding the activities of the Communists. He also gave full credit to the new Governor General, A. C. D. de Graeff, former Dutch Minister in Washington, for trying to undo the work of his predecessor and pacify the population.

A few citations from the article will show the estimate of an observer on the ground:

As regards the facts, what has happened has by no means any overwhelming importance. Every colonial country inhabited by subject races is liable from time to time to revolts against the ruling power. Now the Dutch Indies, with their population in the main peaceable and submissive, have in no way much cause for complaint. On the contrary, one is here somewhat pampered. One assumes quite naturally as a right that the mass of the natives should merely stagnate and serve, without struggles or tendencies of their own.

And when, thanks to the efforts of the Communists, an explosion does break out, the judgment of the public is quite thrown off its balance. * * *

That Moscow and Canton were provided with funds and arms, with the purpose of using Java as a "piece of advertising," and that they calmly accepted into the bargain the misery and disaster of thousands is not a matter which need astonish us. That is the clearly international aspect of the affair. More remarkable is its internal importance. The peaceful Javanese turned into revolutionaries!

In proportion to the aggregate of the inhabitants, only a small number was involved, but that means, notwithstanding, the initiation of a revolutionary rising in an international connection. Beyond doubt it was a senseless and mischievous rising, all the more dangerous and irresponsible since the adventurers knew that they would be exchanging one mode of tyranny for another, even supposing their stroke had come off. This severe verdict does not, however, lessen the significance of a revolt among so peaceful a population. * * *

What, in my opinion, has greater weight than the international bearing, is the part played in the inexcusable Fock-Simon de Graaf Government by the former Governor and the former Colonial Minister. Had these two persons not sown so much bitterness, and caused so much misery; had they not pursued so false a policy which, it cannot be too often repeated, was in no way warranted by the financial condition of the country, it would never have been possible for the Communists to bring people to the point of rising.

As far as the causes are concerned, the new Governor bears no responsibility. He has entered upon a melancholy heritage and was confronted with the business of mending what had been mismanaged. He is doing it, in so far as it is possible to judge, with strength and capacity.

The new Minister of the Netherlands to the United States is Mr. Hermann Van Royen, who has seen long service at Tokio, Madrid and Rome.

Denmark

DENMARK and the rest of the world mourn the loss of Georg Brandes, the noted literary critic, who died on Feb. 19 in Copenhagen at the age of 85. His native country once refused him promotion in an academic career because of his philosophical and literary theories, so he became an international figure instead.

Sweden

SWEDEN and Belgium have entered into a treaty under which the two countries agree never to go to war on any subject, even those usually excluded as "vital interests" and "national honor." In submitting this compact to the Swedish Riksdag, Foreign Minister Eliel Loefgren said that this was the first time Sweden had ever

exchanged such sweeping pledges with any nation outside those of Scandinavia.

The methods of arbitration resemble those already agreed upon with Czechoslovakia. Treaties making war formally "illegal" under every conceivable circumstance are now in force between Sweden and Denmark and Finland, while a corresponding compact with Norway is pending before the Norwegian Parliament. Thus war has been "outlawed" in Northern Europe, where formerly there were almost constant hostilities.

The Swedish Government's naval construction bill, with its program for construction of two destroyers, three submarines, four minelayers and one aircraft carrier

between 1927 and 1933, has led to serious dissension among the Socialists. The nominal leader of the party, Per Albin Hansson, Minister of National Defense in the last Socialist Ministry, overthrown last year by the present Government coalition of Populists and Liberals, was Chairman of the committee which recommended the naval program. Being the chief promoter of the recent reduction of the army by one-third, he evidently found it desirable to counterbalance the military weakness by a fleet capable of defending the long coast line. The anti-militaristic section of the party, however, is opposed to the bill.

J. M. V.

Turkey and the Near East

THE Department of State on Feb. 18 issued the following notice: "As a result of conversations between Admiral Bristol and the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs at Angora, an understanding has been reached between the two Governments which provides for the preservation of the status quo pending a decision on the question of treaty relations and which contemplates the resumption of official relations between the two countries."

The Turkish Government has thus shown the "magnanimity" which was suggested for it as the best way out of an awkward situation. Any other course would only have caused trouble to those American citizens, including practically all who have business relations or philanthropic interests in Turkey, who have consistently favored the conclusion of normal treaty relations with Turkey.

On the last day of February President Mustapha Kemal Pasha declared to a meeting of the leaders of the Popular Party his desire to dissolve the "tribunals of independence," or special courts, for the trial of persons accused of plotting against the Government. On the following day General Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister, discussed the matter fully before a caucus of the party. Three days later the question was laid before the Assembly, and it was voted to abolish the tribunals from March 7. The special "law for the maintenance of order," which amounts to something like martial law, was, however, prolonged for two years. The elimination of these courts, together with other signs of a more clement attitude, indicated that the Government

hoped to proceed henceforth with less show of force and more approximation to the greater personal liberty allowed in Western republics.

Progress toward completing the economic agreements with Greece, Germany and Russia was noted. The last named treaty had proven difficult to arrange on account of the Russian Government's monopoly of foreign trade, and the discussions had lasted two years.

The Government organized a Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of Turkey, which met recently at Angora. Among the questions discussed were Turkish credit, the introduction of foreign capital, the development of local industries, the question of outlets for products and the organization of commercial banks. The Prime Minister addressed the Congress, urging energetic but patient action, with adaptability and cooperation. The Minister of Commerce announced that Turkish importations during the last five months of 1926 had exceeded importations by \$4,500,000, as against \$10,000,000 the previous year. The land bank had been founded with a capital of \$1,000,000 (£2,000,000). The Government was pursuing the project of creating a State bank. "We are firmly convinced that mines of copper, lead, chrome, emery, borax and coal and deposits of petroleum will be developed in different parts of Turkey; such as will soon relieve us of the necessity of importing these products and will even permit us to export them in large quantity."

Since Jan. 1 foreign firms transacting business in Turkey have been required to

use the Turkish language in all correspondence with Government officials and with Turkish firms.

The Government has appointed a Commission for translating the Koran into Turkish. It is proposed to translate also standard commentaries and to prepare and publish model sermons for the use of Turkish preachers.

In order to counterbalance a reduction in the period of army service, the Government has decided to require military training of all male students in the high school. Drill grounds will be established for this purpose. Courses in military history will be introduced into these schools.

Statistics of shipping in the port of Constantinople for the year ended Sept. 30, 1926, show a decline, as compared with 1913, from 7,901 ships to 6,651, with a decline of tonnage from 14,000,000 to less than 11,000,000. Greek shipping has more than doubled and that of Italy has gained about 80 per cent. British shipping, however, has fallen off about two-thirds, from more than half of the total amount to less than one-fourth.

A Turkish educational mission, including the Minister of Education, Nejati Bey, is engaged in studying schools and educational systems in Western European countries. The first country visited was Czechoslovakia. M. Omer Buysse, Director of Technical Education and Fine Arts for the City of Brussels, has been engaged by the Turkish Government to reorganize professional education.

Egypt

A DIFFICULT question was raised by a request from the Turkish Minister to Egypt that Turkish subjects should enjoy the same extraterritorial privileges as subjects of Western European powers. This was felt to be inconsistent with the firm position which Turkey herself took soon after the outbreak of the Great War, and which she succeeded in establishing through the Treaty of Lausanne, by which she freed herself from the extraterritorial claims of other nations.

The Cabinet Minister, Under-Secretaries of State and the latter's assistants agreed to a voluntary reduction of salary, in conformity with the Government's promise to Parliament to follow a policy of economy.

The Cotton Congress which met late in January at Cairo and elsewhere discussed both the growing and the marketing of the product. The representatives of English

spinners objected to the quantity of water and other materials which is found in bales of Egyptian cotton, while the Egyptian producers protested against the low prices which they receive. The competition of a more uniform quality of cotton from the Sudan, East Africa and elsewhere was emphasized.

Students and professors of Al Azhar University went on a strike early in February because of the proposal to reverse an order of Ziwari Pasha's Government, by which certain higher religious schools were taken from the control of the Ministry of Education and given to the Department of Religious Instruction. The Egyptian press and public showed little sympathy for the strikers, and discussed the question whether, unless this famous Moslem university shows signs of adapting itself to the spirit of the age, it should not be remodeled by secular authorities.

On Feb. 11 King Fuad laid the cornerstone for the new auditorium building of the American University at Cairo. Dr. D. S. McClenahan was able to resume his duties as principal of the College of Arts and Sciences, after a semester's absence on account of illness. President Charles R. Watson had returned to the university after a visit to America.

The Faculty of Arts in the Egyptian University had been criticized very severely, on the charge that students had been passed wholesale, regardless of the results of their examinations. The Faculties of Science and Law, as well as the Faculty of Arts itself, were reported to have been doing much good work.

Parliament had appointed a committee to consider the means of relieving tenants whose rents press heavily upon them, as a consequence of the serious crisis in the cotton situation.

Syria

IT was reported that as a result of M. Ponsot's conference with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs a conservative plan had been adopted for the settlement of Syria: Syrian unity would be proclaimed by the setting up of a federation, in which the Lebanon would be autonomous, with Beirut as its capital; a constitutional monarchy would be set up later; there was talk of choosing a king from among Egyptian princes. This United Syria would be declared a sovereign State, bound to France by a treaty similar to the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1924. French soldiers would be replaced gradually by local troops.

The gendarmerie services in Syria and the Lebanon were amalgamated on March 1. This was regarded as a step toward unity. The report noted last month of the capture of Sultan Pasha al Atrash was not confirmed.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations published on Dec. 3 a letter from M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, on the subject of mandates. M. Briand stated that for reasons of principle and policy the French Government could not approve that the Commission on Mandates should hear the authors of petitions which might be presented from mandated countries. He also objected to answering a detailed questionnaire proposed by the commission on mandates.

Arabia

KING IBN SAUD has established regulations for the comfort and protection of pilgrims, especially those arriving by sea at Jeddah. The coming pilgrimage promised to be large, even though certain of those who attended the conference at Mecca last Summer, notably the Ali brothers of India, had been agitating against the Wahabi King's control of the Hedjaz.

The text was published of a treaty signed at Mecca on Oct. 21 by the King and the Idrisi Imam of Asir. The latter recognized that his territory was under the suzerainty of the King and promised not to enter into political relations with any government or declare war or conclude peace or grant any economic concession without the King's previous approval. In return the King recognized the right of the Imam to rule during his lifetime and to conduct the internal administration of his territory, subject to the sacred law, and furthermore undertook to prevent any internal or external aggression on the territories of Asir.

Relations were not good between King Ibn Saud and the Idrisi on the one hand and the Imam Yahya of Yemen on the other. The latter had been ambitious for complete independence and on that account warred many years against the Turks with considerable success. The collapse of the Turkish power left him some munitions. He extended his boundaries northward into Asir and southward into regions protected by Britain. He had lately strengthened his position by the accord with Italy. Rumors of war had been heard, but the present policy of Italy as backing the Imam Yahya and of Ibn Saud as backing the Idrisi Imam, and of Great Britain as inter-

ested generally in Arabian affairs, all tended toward the preservation of peace.

Palestine

A RECENT official report on trade conditions contained an estimate of the population for April 30, 1926, as 752,268, plus more than 100,000 desert nomads. The estimate for Jews was 139,645, for Christians 75,936 and for Moslems 528,229 plus the Bedouins. "The country is under-populated and under-cultivated, and lacks capital, but * * * there is little poverty."

The British Government had advanced about \$10,000,000 for railways, roads, telegraph and other improvements, besides \$5,000,000 of similar investments during the war period. A loan of \$22,500,000 was expected, out of which the above expenditures would be repaid. The British Government had maintained the military units in Palestine at a diminishing cost, which for 1924-25 was about \$900,000.

The season of 1925 was bad agriculturally owing to drought. Extensive importation of foodstuffs, clothing and machinery, together with something of a land boom, led to a shortage of capital and a depression which continued through 1926. The urban population suffered most heavily from this, especially at Tel-Aviv. Imports increased in 1925 over 1924 to the amount of \$10,000,000, and the increase of 1926 over 1925 was estimated at half as much, reaching a total of about \$40,000,000. The balance of trade was distinctly adverse, and was made up by expenditures of tourists, outlay of Zionist funds, missionary expenses and capital brought by immigrants. There was also some re-exportation to Transjordan and Syria.

Persia

THE Cabinet was reconstituted on Feb. 8 as follows:

MIRZA HASSAN KHAN MOSTOFI, the Mostofi ul Mamalik—Prime Minister.
ALI KULI KHAN ANSARI, the Mushaver ul Mamalik—Foreign Affairs.
MIRZA MOHAMED ALI KHAN FARUGHI, the Zoka ul Mulk—War.
MIRZA MOHAMED ALI KHAN DAVER—Justice.
NAHDIGHIRLI KHAN HADAYAT, the Mokhber-es-Sultaneh—Public Works.
SEYID MEHDY FALEIM, the Emad-es-Sultaneh—Interior.
FIRUZ MIRZA FIRUZ, the Nusret ed Dowleh—Finance.

The Government pawnbroking institution had been opened. The enforcement of compulsory military service was proceeding, but

not very satisfactorily. Only about 300 recruits had been enrolled in Teheran, where 1,000 were expected.

Twelve American civil engineers and surveyors arrived under the chairmanship of Mr. Poland to take up the problem of railway construction. Mr. Poland divided these with some German civil engineers into six groups, who were to work on the survey in different regions, he himself examining Mazanderan. It was expected that

1,000 miles would be built at the cost of about \$72,000,000.

One of the most famous oil wells in the world, the F-7 of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, was closed down because its head fittings had become unsafe. This well had been flowing for fifteen years and had produced 6,500,000 tons of crude petroleum. It long poured out 450,000 gallons per day with a pressure of 300 pounds to the square inch.
A. H. L.

The Far East

THE forces of the Northern war lords are gradually being driven to the northeast corner of China, partly because of the military successes of the Nationalist armies under Chiang Kai-shek, partly because of defections of Northern Generals and troops, partly because of skillful Nationalist propaganda and partly because of the unpopularity which they have gained because of drastic methods.

Sun Chuan-fang, who last Fall controlled five Provinces and until recently defended Shanghai, was eliminated on March 2 when he left Shanghai following the defection of Meng Chao-Yueh, one of his Generals. It also appears that friction had arisen between him and the Shantung General, Chang Tsung-chang, who had advanced to assist in defending Shanghai from the Nationalists. The latter, with a reported force of 40,000 men, including 4,000 White Russians, was holding the railroad line from Shanghai to Nanking on March 7. The Nationalist forces, having taken Hangchow on Feb. 17, were advancing through Chekiang Province toward Shanghai and were commandeering boats to bring troops down the Yangtse from Hankow. They also planned to cut off Chang Tsung-chang's communications to the North by an advance through Anhwei Province, where Tupan Chen Tao-yuan and Civil Governor Wang-pu joined the Nationalists early in March. Reports on March 5 indicated that Li Pao-chen, one of Sun Chuan-fang's Generals in Shanghai, had also deserted to the Nationalists. The Northerners' hold on Shanghai seemed extremely tenuous.

In the Northwestern theatre of war the Nationalists were also in the ascendent at the time of writing. General Wu Pei-fu seems to have adopted their cause and was reported to be resisting the advance of Chang Tso-lin's Fengtien troops in Honan

Province. Back of him were 50,000 troops of the Nationalist Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang, who was claimed on Feb. 24 by Judge Fenga of Czechoslovakia to be his brother and a former American soldier in the Philippines. The hitherto neutral model Governor of Shansi Province, General Yen Hsi-shan, was said on March 7 to have actively joined the Nationalists and to be contemplating an attack on Peking. Thus the Northern forces seem to be confined to the Provinces of Kiangsu, Shantung, Chihli and Manchuria, defended by the armies of Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-chang.

The way for these military movements and defections was paved by propaganda, doubtless to a large extent directed by Soviet advisers, which brought threats of strikes in Shanghai and elsewhere. The success of this propaganda in its turn was made possible by the growing unpopularity of the Northerners as a result of their own conduct. On Feb. 20 some twenty-five decapitations of Nationalist sympathizers or persons suspected as such took place on the streets of Shanghai under authority of Sun Chuan-fang for the purpose of discouraging strikes. A report of Feb. 21 gave the following account of the method used:

The Chinese city is reduced to a state of abject fear by constant contemplation of a sinister little pageant like a scene from the Middle Ages, known as the "execution patrol," a dozen soldiers with fixed bayonets who move in twos at a significant funeral pace up and down the narrow, crowded streets. Behind them strides a tall, menacing figure, the municipal headman, ceremonially holding aloft a heavy sword encased in crimson silk. Tumult ceases whenever the procession is sighted, and it passes in dreadful silence.

The seizure of the Soviet steamer Pamiat Lenina on March 5, by Shantung troops and White Russians attached to the army of Chang Tsung-chang has given rise to a

serious situation. In a note to the Chinese Foreign Office the Russian Embassy in Peking demanded the immediate release of the vessel and its crew and passengers, and declared that the Chinese Government would be held responsible for their safety. The prisoners included the wife of Michael Borodin, the Nationalist adviser, and three Soviet couriers. Chang Tso-lin was reported on March 8 to have ordered the execution of the three couriers on the ground that they were Communists with a large quantity of propagandist literature in their possession, with intent to aid the Nationalists and that they were also spies. The Soviet Government on March 9 reinforced its demands to the Peking authorities by sending a note to the Chinese mission in Moscow. On behalf of Chang Tso-lin, it was denied on March 10 that he had ordered the execution of the three Russians, who were in custody at Tsinan-fu, under the control of Chang Tsung-chang. A Shanghai dispatch of March 11 stated that the Soviet officials clearly mistrusted the assurances of the Chinese authorities as to the safety of the prisoners and feared they would get short shrift if they fell into the hands of the White Russians attached to the Northern army. The Soviet Government, accordingly, sent another note to Peking, which, after calling attention to the lack of definite information regarding the fate of the Russians, contained the following warning: "The Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics hereby declares that the Chinese Government will bear full responsibility for the safety of the couriers and other persons detained, and warns the Chinese Government that any violation of their safety might certainly bring most serious consequences and compel the Soviet Government to appeal to exceptional measures."

Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-chang are said to have made themselves very unpopular in China by the use of a system of conscription and by their failure to prevent looting by their troops. Marshal Chang Tsung-chang's troops, writes T. F. Millard, "have the worst reputation in China for looting and rapine." It is reported that the occupation of Hangchow in February was facilitated by the action of civilians who attacked the Northern soldiers after serious looting and killed hundreds of them. The missionary who reported this added that Nationalist soldiers generally refrained from looting after the occupation.

The Nationalists, however, are not with-

out troubles of their own. A rupture between the moderates led by General Chiang Kai-shek and the radicals who wish to follow Borodin, the Russian adviser, was said to be pending early in March and on March 7 General Chang Tso-lin was reported to have offered to suspend hostilities against the Nationalists if they would dismiss Borodin and the other Soviet advisers. Chang was said to desire to discuss the fundamentals of Chinese rehabilitation and to favor elimination of all foreign influence from China, including both Russian and British.

A revolt in Yunnan Province was reported on Feb. 22. The Tsuchun, Tang Chiyao, was said to have been overthrown by his subordinates on March 1. On Feb. 24 a general strike was reported in Hankow and on the same day labor troubles broke out in Canton. Intense anti-British feeling was reported from Changsha and Ichang. Four of six pirates sentenced to death for the Sunning piracy attempted escape from the prison at Hongkong, but were captured.

Missionaries from the interior of China were continually arriving at Shanghai and over 1,000 were there early in March. On March 2 General Leonard Wood announced that all American refugees from China could be cared for at Manila. It was reported in February that twelve Episcopal mission schools in the Hankow area would probably be closed indefinitely because of anti-Christian tendencies of the Nationalists. The Episcopal Department of Missions recognized the desirability of a national system of education in China directed by Chinese authorities, but found nothing fundamentally inconsistent between this and "the Christian character of the school." The Methodist Board of Foreign Missions reported on Feb. 13 that of 350 missionaries in China only seventeen had left the country because of the recent disturbances. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America on Feb. 16 passed resolutions advocating the negotiation of new treaties with China abrogating special missionary privileges and the acceptance of the Chinese regulations for mission schools.

A Chinese committee, including former Premier C. T. Wang and representing over 2,000 Chinese ratepayers in the Shanghai International Settlement, sought on Feb. 13 to negotiate for Chinese representation on the Municipal Council. The Chinese pay 80 per cent. of the taxes and wish gradually to acquire equal representation on the Council of Nine, now entirely European.

They are not satisfied with the offer made two years ago to allow three Chinese members, but cite recent statements of Secretary Kellogg and Sir Austen Chamberlain as evidence of the need of full revision.

The European forces in Shanghai have been steadily increasing, and it is said that Shanghai laborers welcome them as a source of money. British troops landed from the Megantic on Feb. 27; Japanese troops marched through the streets on March 2 and 500 additional landed on March 6. On March 5 American marines from the Chaumont paraded on the streets. The British and French are most diligent in constructing defenses. The Americans and Japanese regard this effort as unnecessary. On March 1 there were 10,000 foreign troops in Shanghai, half of them being British and 1,000 French, mostly Annamites.

A gunboat on Feb. 22 went over to the Nationalist side, fired on the Shanghai arsenal and sent a few shots into the French concession. No damage was done and next day General Sun Chuan-fang, in control of Shanghai, captured the vessel. Three Standard Oil motor boats were commandeered by the Nationalists on the Yangtse near Shasi on Feb. 17. Two were voluntarily released on March 1 and American bluejackets forcibly rescued the other one at Ichang. A protest was lodged with the Nationalist Government.

The United States House of Representatives on Feb. 21 passed the Porter resolution advising independent negotiations by the United States with China for the revision of treaties. The vote was 259 to 43. Chairman Porter of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs received on March 1, through Chinese Minister Sze, cables from the Nationalist Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, and the Peking Foreign Minister, Wellington Koo, endorsing his resolution. Chen hoped the United States would not repeat Great Britain's mistake in procedure and Koo saw a new token of America's friendship for China.

Minister Sze denied on Feb. 12 that he had transferred his allegiance from Peking to the Nationalists. In a public address on Feb. 15 he said the Chinese were convinced "that they cannot secure for themselves that combination of order and progress to which they are justly entitled so long as they are restricted and humiliated by the conditions which the existing unequal treaties impose." He further advocated independent negotiations to eliminate inequalities because of the difficulty of obtaining

a unanimous decision of a dozen or more States at the same time.

The Department of State on March 2 published its reply, dated Feb. 25, to Representative Black's resolution asking why American forces were in China. It was addressed to Chairman Porter and signed by Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew:

I have received your letter of Feb. 23, 1927, transmitting House Resolution No. 431, introduced by Mr. Black of New York, and am glad to give you the following information:

1. The United States has not entered into any arrangement with any country for the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States in China other than the arrangement contained in the final protocol between China and the powers represented at Peking in settlement of the matter growing out of the Boxer uprising in 1900, which was signed at Peking on Sept. 7, 1901, covering by Article 9 the right of the powers to occupy certain points for the maintenance of open communication between Peking and the sea.

2. The soldiers, sailors and marines of the United States now in China or en route thereto are not there on the basis of any international arrangement. They are there for the purpose of affording protection to the lives and property of American citizens.

3. The Department of State is not informed that the presence of United States naval forces in or near Chinese waters is highly deleterious to the trade of the United States with China and has given no advice to that effect.

4. In carrying out their instructions to protect American lives and property which may be in danger American naval forces in or near Chinese waters will be governed in their activities by instructions from the United States alone.

5. The Chinese Maritime Customs being a Chinese service, the Department of State has no information as to the amount of revenues or fines collected by the service which has been paid to citizens of the United States as officials of that service.

It was reported on Feb. 15 that Irish republicans were championing the Nationalist cause in China. In Canada a motion to publish recent correspondence on the Chinese situation was defeated on Feb. 16. Prime Minister MacKenzie King said such correspondence could not be published without the consent of the British Government, which he was confident would be forthcoming. Prime Minister Baldwin on Feb. 19 criticized the British Labor Party for its opposition to a forceful British policy to protect British subjects in China. Sir Austen Chamberlain on Feb. 23 denied the accuracy of a Laborite description of the Wanhien bombardment, and on March 2 in reply to a question he said: "His Majesty's Government conceive they have a right to land troops for the protection of British nationals when no protection can be offered

by the Government of the country concerned." He also said there was no rivalry between the United States and Great Britain in China.

Chu Chao-tsin, the Chinese Minister at Geneva, on Feb. 16 sent to the Secretary General of the League of Nations a reply to the British defense of their Chinese policy. The note included a copy of the Chinese Foreign Office note to the British Minister at Peking on Jan. 30 requesting immediate withdrawal of the British troops dispatched to Shanghai. It made categorical demands on the basis of the Washington treaties and Article 10 of the League Covenant, adding that the presence of troops might lead to serious misunderstanding.

Japan

BEFORE it had had time to recover from the earthquake of 1925, Japan suffered from another disaster of the kind on the morning of March 7, resulting in great loss of life and much damage to property. Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto, with an aggregate population of 2,500,000, felt the shocks, but escaped with comparatively little damage. The full force of the earthquake, which was felt fifty miles north of Kyoto, devastated small towns and villages on and near the coast of the Sea of Japan. The Governor of Kyoto reported on March 9 that the casualties in his prefecture numbered 2,275 dead and 3,441 injured, with 3,695 houses, burned, 3,119 wrecked and 3,000 partly destroyed. Outside the Kyoto prefecture the casualties were comparatively few.

Tsai Tien-chu, the Chinese Nationalist representative, arrived in Japan on Feb. 23. Although he cannot be officially received, he will present the Nationalist viewpoint to Japanese business men and political leaders. Japanese negotiations with Russia on the fisheries convention were said on Feb. 19 to be progressing satisfactorily. Russia appears anxious to cultivate Japanese goodwill.

The Seiyu-honto Party, which originated in a revolt from the Seiyukai, finally terminated its existence on March 1 by amalgamating with the Kenseikai, the Government party. The Government is thus greatly strengthened, as the Seiyu-honto had held a balance of power. It is rumored that a bargain was struck whereby Premier Wakutsuki will presently retire and the Seiyu-honto leader, Tokonami, will succeed him. Before the amalgamation the distribution of parties in the House was as follows:

Kenseikai	163
Seiyu-honto	98
Seiyukai	136
Dokokai	26
Sin Sei Kai	26
Business Men's Party	9
Independents	6

Japan seems to be reaching a period of hard times because of the rapid rise of the yen and the drop in silk prices.

Japanese women have organized a campaign to save a sen (half a cent) a day to aid in paying the empire's foreign debt.

Q. W.



Three Centuries of the Submarine

By A. B. SEAMANS

ONE of the major problems in the present discussion of disarmament is the submarine. At the Washington naval conference the question of submarine limitation was not dealt with, an oversight which advocates of peace and economy propose to remedy. Within the maximum offensive powers permitted to cruisers by the Washington treaty designers of torpedo craft have full scope to develop destroyers and submarines, which, in consequence, are rapidly approaching cruisers in size and armament. The creation of cruising ships has received an impetus exceeded only by the race for naval supremacy during the years just preceding the World War.

Reduction of armament at this time is in keeping with historic precedent. Almost before Napoleon had been landed on St. Helena the nations of Europe were setting out to reduce armies and navies and to curtail military expenditures. Their peace holiday lasted more than thirty years, during which scarcely an innovation in war methods or appurtenances was perfected. But conditions confronting maritime nations after Waterloo differed widely from those of today. For a half century there had been no drastic alteration in the general design of warships or in the effectiveness of ordnance, nor had methods of conflict changed materially, reduction of armament being a matter merely of scrapping or laying up so many sail. Development and invention were not forcing new creations upon the navies; ships were ships, since the obsolescence of the galley, all dependent upon the same propelling force. The Victory, most famous British ship-of-the-line, was forty years old when she led the fleet to action at Trafalgar.

In the treaty of Washington the signatory powers proceeded quite as though the dreadnought, ship-of-the-line of 1920,

alone needed to be considered in determining naval power as it did a century previously. This policy was economical, but avoided the obvious truism that no matter how many of the more powerful classes of warships are eliminated, the class next remaining automatically becomes the capital ship of its time. Having to their satisfaction disposed of the first line ship for the period of truce, the conferring powers must now consider certain other types, prominent among them being the submarine. This craft is berated as a pirate, a weapon of the nether regions, and pressure is being brought to outlaw it, or at least to clip its fins. In Great Britain loss of the M-1 caused agitation against the submarine, while over the Channel France, suffering as many fatalities, still puts unbounded faith in its perfection and capability. At the end of the war France abandoned construction of battleships, devoting her energies to a submarine program which incorporated into her navy eleven former U-boats and added a flotilla, besides sixteen now under construction and thirty-six projected for the next four years. France and Great Britain thus do not agree in their attitude toward submarines.

The prominence given to the undersea fighter by the World War, which brought the submarine suddenly to the fore as an offensive weapon, coupled with arguments against the submersible and wide publicity whenever an accident occurs, have lent support to the impression that the submarine is a recent arrival, whereas under-water navigation antedates steamships, and navy lists have included such classes for more than thirty years. Naval experts cannot plead surprise, unless it be at the degree of success which the little craft have attained, for they have been long in the making. Had Napoleon heeded Fulton he might have utilized submarines to paralyze

England in 1814, as did von Tirpitz a century later. A submarine was employed in the American Revolution, and another during the War of 1812. The United States navy included the submarine torpedo boat Plunger before the Spanish war, a craft of 168 tons, eight knots speed and costing \$150,000, her offensive weapons represented by two torpedo tubes. The Plunger was a Dutch boat, still a recognized type, and resulted from a call for tenders issued by the Government in 1893. Three projects were submitted, the others being the Baker and Lake craft. Simon P. Lake, creator of one of the rejected inventions, after perfecting his designs, demonstrating the capability of his boats but being unable to interest his own nation, took the plans abroad in June, 1904. From his specifications it is popularly believed the German submarines were developed. The Plunger, meantime, inaugurated submarine navigation in America.

These inventors were far from first to succeed in subaqueous travel. The feat had been accomplished nearly 300 years before, Cornelius von Drebbel, a Dutchman, going down in the Thames in 1624 in a diving boat propelled by twelve pairs of oars, taking King James I on one of his expeditions. Leakage through the oar ports was prevented by incasing the shaft of the oars in leather bags, a method adopted from the Romans, who employed the bags for the lower tiers of oars on their quinqueremes. The King, it is related, was so pleased with the novelty that he had a duplicate constructed, which he presented as a gift to the Grand Duke of Muscovy. History again records the submersible in 1775, when David Bushnell of Connecticut took up the problem. It is said that he constructed his boat in 1771. Washington is quoted in a letter to Jefferson as describing it as a "machine so contrived as to carry the inventor under water to any depth he chose, and for a considerable time and distance, with an appendage charged with powder, which he could fasten to a ship and give fire to it in time sufficient for his returning, and by means thereof destroy it." Bushnell's contrivance was egg-shaped, with a small conning tower on its larger end, which was the up-

right position, a powder charge being carried in a magazine at the back to be attached to the bottom of the victim by a screw projecting from the upper end of the boat, the screw being revolved and operated by the occupant after gaining the desired position directly beneath the enemy. Motive power was provided by a hand propeller, and a hand pump controlled the water ballast by which submergence and emergence were attained. In 1776 Bushnell took his boat out against the British man-of-war *Eagle* in New York Harbor, but failed in his destructive design.

FULTON'S SUBMARINE

Fulton, father of steam navigation, was next to produce a submarine, in 1801. On the surface it was navigated by sail, under water by a hand-revolved screw. It was iron-copper, resisting depth pressure down to twenty-five feet, and carried a crew of two men. Fulton took it to Europe, where war was raging. He demonstrated his invention off various French ports, remaining under water more than an hour by employing a globe of compressed air to replenish the breathing supply, and torpedoed a small ship off Boulogne. The French engaged him for a time to cruise about after the British, then rejected his craft, and in 1805 he laid his invention before the English, but with no better success. On Fulton's return to the United States one of his boats was tried during the War of 1812 against the British ship *Ramillies* off New London. Instead of using a torpedo, Fulton's crew endeavored to bore a hole through the bottom of the warship, but were driven to the surface for air before accomplishing their purpose.

A shoemaker, Phillips by name, gave his thoughts to the subject, bringing out a diving boat in 1851. He seems to have led in adopting the cigar-shaped design. He launched his product, which was forty feet long by four feet at its greatest diameter, in Lake Michigan and set about perfecting his creation from lessons of practical experience, succeeding so far that a few years later he took his family for a day's exploration of the lake bottom, and all survived the novel voyage. Despite his

initial success, Phillips was the first of the long list of submarine victims, for records show that he descended in Lake Erie, near Buffalo, and did not reappear. While Phillips experimented, a Russian mechanic was designing a diver in which, in 1855, he remained submerged for eight hours. This seems to have been the most successful of a number of attempts at submarine navigation undertaken during this period, but nothing of a permanent nature came of it.

USED IN CIVIL WAR

After these operations it is not surprising that submarine attacks should have developed during the Civil War. Although nearly a century had elapsed since Bushnell's effort, no very determined attempt to destroy an enemy's ship by submarine seems to have been made until the Confederate torpedo corps essayed their offensive against the blockading Union squadron off Charleston in the Winter of 1864. The Confederate invention, credited to the partnership of McClintock and Howgate, was christened David from its small dimensions, a cognomen by which all Confederate torpedo craft were designated thereafter. It was of boiler iron, having a height insufficient for the nine members of its crew to stand upright, and, as originally conceived, was manually propelled by eight of its occupants, operating a hand-turned shaft, along which they were distributed for nearly the length of the interior. The mechanism was geared to give a speed of four miles an hour. The single weapon was a spar-borne torpedo projecting from the prow.

There is no chapter of submarine history more eloquent of persistency and dogged heroism than the story of the personnel of the David. When first taken down for trial after its completion at Mobile, eight of the crew were drowned. Brought to the surface, she was sunk on the next test by a wave entering an open manhole, her commander, Lieutenant Payne, alone escaping. A third time she was tried, again with fatal results, Payne and two sailors being saved. On the fourth submergence she fouled the bottom, all aboard perishing. She was fished up once more, only to foul a cable and founder.

Yet volunteers were not wanting for the sixth and last fatality. Abandoning the submerged method, two army officers and five seamen took her out, running awash, on the night of Feb. 17, 1864. She torpedoed and sank the United States steamship Housatonic, and went down with the victim. When the David was recovered by divers after the war it is said that the bodies of the crew still remained at the posts they had occupied during the attack.

Until about 1878 manual power furnished the means of propulsion under water. Then a British minister, the Rev. G. W. Garrett, launched a forty-foot submarine driven by steam. While under water Garrett closed the furnace doors after drawing the fires, drawing sufficient steam for operation from that remaining in the boiler. The Resurgam, as he called his boat, was lost at sea, but his ideas were adopted by the Swedish inventor, Nordenfeldt, who in 1885, at Stockholm, completed his first submarine of sixty tons, sixty-four feet long and operated by steam. Nordenfeldt embarked upon the commercial construction of submarine torpedo boats, selling his original product to Greece and the two succeeding craft to Turkey. During these early days of submarine navigation difficulty was experienced in controlling the craft under water. So evenly were they balanced, so buoyant did they become when subjected to the lift of the sea that the least movement of a member of the crew, the slightest change in position of any portion of the equipment would upset the stability of the boat, sometimes with serious results. Turkey's first submarine fired its torpedo only once under water, for when the weight of the missile was released the submarine stood on its tail and started to dive stern foremost.

The development of the submarine now proceeded rapidly. In the latter eighties Gustave Zede, perfecting designs of Dupuy de Lome, brought forth the Gymnote, developed after his death into the Gustave Zede, first of the more successful French submersibles. Electricity replaced steam, introducing a fresh problem to overcome, that of fumes from the accumulators. In the United States, Lake and Holland, the latter active since the sixties, were turning

out improved undersea fighters, and in November, 1901, Great Britain incorporated the submarine into her navy, launching its first unit, of the Holland type, at Barrow-on-Furness. Late as Great Britain was in adopting the invention, Germany was more reluctant, being last of the principal naval powers to accept the submarine arm. Yet thereafter she led in its development and its employment. Germany was first to add guns to the armament and to utilize submarines as mine layers.

FORMER COMMERCIAL AIMS

Diving boats now had passed the experimental stage, although hundreds of lives were to be sacrificed before perfection was attained. During these centuries while inventors were toying with the devices, the idea was rarely put to practical use. Dr. Payerne had planned his design purely for commercial purposes. Tuck, in 1884, designed a three-man submarine for salvage, and Lake recovered lost cargoes with boats contrived to permit a diver to operate from a separate compartment, as in Jules Verne's romance. The aim of the majority of builders was to create a war craft only, yet with the few exceptions enumerated, undersea attack in time of hostilities was not attempted during this long period. In the half score years intervening between the Russo-Japanese conflict and dawn of the World War underwater navigation attained a considerable degree of perfection.

Returns detailed in the British Navy League Annual of 1913-1914 presented the submarine strength of the nations as follows: Great Britain then had seventy-seven boats, dating from 1904, ranging from 204 to 1,200 tons, and twenty under way. France mustered seventy-eight, the oldest completed in 1901, of from 67 to 1,070 tons, and twenty-four were being built. Italy could assemble eighteen, displacing from 93 to 1,313 tons, with eight under construction. Japan owned an even dozen, the oldest aged nine years and the smallest of 79 tons, and there was a division of five on the ways. Russia had 37 completed, the oldest aged ten, from 110 to 700 tons, and eighteen in preparation. The United States announced thirty-one on its roster, starting with the Plunger and her six sisters, of 125 tons, the largest

of only 525 tons. Sixteen were being built. Against this array Germany could assemble only twenty-four boats with twelve on the stocks. Its oldest dated from 1906, while displacement ran from 197 to 800 tons. Austria, who had entered the field in 1908, had six boats completed, five under construction, its boats being of small but uniform size, 216 to 300 tons.

For over three hundred years inventive genius had experimented. Courageous sailors were to test, under the utmost stress of action, the results of their development. Throughout the world, almost in every sea, these sharks of war were unleashed. Underwater operations were by no means confined to the navies of the Central Powers, although Germany employed the method most ruthlessly and with greatest attention, placing upon the submarine such reliance that at the armistice German shipyards were being devoted almost exclusively to building this type of craft. But the Allies were not wanting in brave crews. British and French boats penetrated the Dardanelles, and Italian and allied craft beleaguered Austrian ports. There is no more dramatic story of the war than that of the French engineer who submerged his captured boat with high Turkish officials examining it under water, opened the sea valves and perished with his enemy. British crews took their charges into the Baltic, beneath alert German patrols, and submarine scouts dogged the coast from Belgium to Kiel.

But it was of German U-boats that news dispatches told most frequently. During those four years, for the first time in naval history, the ship-of-the-line, whether of wood or steel, gave to this insignificant David the palm for destruction; the gun, paramount weapon of offense from the days of gunpowder, relinquished first place to the torpedo, because this became the principal weapon of the submarine. Eight allied battleships received their death blow from submarines against three from gun fire. Of twenty-five battleships of allied navies lost during the conflict, submarines accounted for eight, more than any other single cause, while six were lost to mines, near relatives of the torpedo, an equal number destroyed by explosion on board, three in action and one by a sur-

face torpedo boat. The twenty-fifth vessel, a Russian dreadnaught, was sunk purposely by its crew to avoid surrender.

Tabulation of losses by the allied powers show that each suffered in proportion to its naval establishment and its activity at sea. Thirteen battleships, more than half the allied loss, flew the British flag. Five were victims of submarines, three of mines, two of explosions on board, two in action, one of torpedo boat attack. France and Russia, early engaged, lost four each, France three by submarine and one from a mine; Russia one each by mine, explosion, in action and purposely destroyed. Escape from submarine attack is explainable here from the fact that Russian naval activity was largely in the Black Sea, where German influence was little felt, and in the Baltic, which received less attention from German submarines than other areas. Italy had three capital ships sacrificed, one to a mine, two by explosion. Its fleet operated mainly against Austria. Japan's single loss was from explosion. Of twenty-two armored cruisers lost, exactly half received their fatal strokes from submarines. Three, the Aboukir, Cressy and Hogue, were destroyed by a single old U-boat in the North Sea on Sept. 22, 1914. The most important naval unit lost to the United States, the armored cruiser San Diego, went down off Fire Island in July, 1918, from a mine supposedly planted by a submarine.

MERCHANTMEN ALSO DESTROYED

In the ruthless attack on shipping, 2,100 British merchantmen were destroyed by U-boats, irrespective of allied and neutral vessels, aggregating 3,050 carriers, a grand total of 5,150 so-called non-combatants accounted for—figures that seem to prove the efficiency of von Tirpitz's theories. In the dashes which the German units made now and then from their fortified bases, allied submarines had little opportunity to display their prowess, but in the Bosphorus intrepid crews penetrated the Narrows, torpedoing two battleships, 100 per cent. of those destroyed in the Turkish navy. Of German losses, submarines accounted for only two light cruisers and one armored cruiser, while gunfire, largely at Jutland, sank a battleship, one battle

cruiser, three armored cruisers and thirteen light cruisers.

Depredations of the little "Davids" upon the commerce of opposing nations, striking at the very heart of the British Empire, dependent upon overseas communication, were a menace which Great Britain realized thoroughly. To quote Admiral Hall of the British Navy: "As in the last war, the submarine is certain to be the cause of all our troubles in the future, because it is by far the most efficient weapon for striking at us in our tenderest spot, and since the submarine is essentially a torpedo carrier, the torpedo, or rather the opportunity for using it, will predominate."

Since the war the menace of the submarine has increased twofold or more in size, cruising radius and offensive and defensive powers. Against 216 craft enumerated in 1914 by the five leading naval powers of the present day, Great Britain now possesses 63 with 6 building, France 53 and 16 building, United States 121 and 12 building, Japan 51 and 28 building, Italy 43 and 12 building, a total of 331 with 74 under way—over 100 more than listed by these powers twelve years ago. The possibilities of undersea fighters seem limited only to such dimensions and fighting powers as the nations may determine.

A cruiser submarine of 3,000 tons has been perfected, exceeding in displacement the United States cruisers of the Detroit, Montgomery, Marblehead class of Spanish War times, carrying four five-inch guns in turrets and attaining a speed of twenty-two knots, equaling the fastest United States dreadnaught. The United States has a submarine serving as a seaplane carrier, thereby proving the practicability of a war speculation that German undersea liners could bring bombers to attack New York. Under limitations imposed by the Washington Conference, naval architects are restricted in submersible development to the tonnage and armament allowed a surface cruiser. Within these circumscribed requirements plans have been put forward for submarines mounting eight-inch guns and possessing speed of twenty-four knots, with displacement varying from 3,000 to 8,000 tons.

Work of the International Labor Organization

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A MILE or so from Geneva on the Lausanne road, between the road and the lake, stretches a long, new, cold gray building that suggests an uncommonly fine shoe factory. On its gates appear the initials "B. I. T.—I. L. O." "B. I. T." stands for Bureau International du Travail; "I. L. O." represents the English equivalent, International Labor Office.

The Peace Treaty of 1919 had two children, the League of Nations and the International Labor organization. The first Labor Conference, which set up the organization, met in Washington seven years ago, and was presided over by W. B. Wilson, at that time our Secretary of Labor; but we had not signed the Treaty of Versailles and did not belong to the Labor organization. Nor have we since joined it, and it has by now sunk below the horizon for most Americans. But at Geneva it almost ranks with the League of Nations, and even put up its permanent "palace" before the other.

Gifts from nations and employers and labor organizations make this new labor "palace" unique. The main door is of black bean wood, given by the Australian Government. When you turn left into the chamber of the "Governing Body," across the room from you hangs a great Gobelin tapestry, a gift from France. India gave all the wood for the decorations and furniture of the room—laurel wood, beautiful material. The British Government made it up as its part of the present. Japan gave the cloisonné vases. From Belgium came two bronzes by Meunier—a miner and a puddler. Finland sent a great painting of loggers in the Spring, with a girl pouring hot tea for them. The two figures at the entrance, betokening "Peace" and "Justice," came from Switzerland. The British Seamen's and Firemen's Union presented

the courtyard fountain. The Cooperative Workers of Rumania are furnishing an office. So it goes. Even America will be represented. Samuel Gompers did much toward shaping the whole plan eight years ago, and although the American Federation of Labor is making no attempt yet to bring the United States into the Labor organization, it is furnishing an office in the old chief's memory.

The Labor organization opened its "palace" in the Summer of 1926 between two sessions of the Labor Conference. But what is the Labor Conference? Like the League, the Labor organization functions in a triple way. As the League has its "legislature"—the Assembly; its executive—the Council, and a Secretariat which prepares all the material made necessary by the plans of the "legislature," so the Labor organization has its legislature—the Labor Conference; its executive—the Governing Body, and its Secretariat—the Labor Office.

The close-fitting morning coats on many of the conferees, the gloves on the desks, the sticks hung up with the hats in the anteroom, do not suggest miners, dock hands or manual workers. The term Labor Conference refers to the subject with which the assembly deals, not its membership. Two of the four men who make up the full delegation from a nation represent the Government, one the employers and only one the workers. So the Conference is as much an employer conference as a "labor" one. In each country the most representative organization of the employers virtually appoints the employers' delegate, and so with the workers, nor do they designate typical employers or workmen, but rather men who combine the capacities of attorney and legislator. At the Labor Conferences a baker or a machinist or, for the matter

of that, a paper manufacturer or a coal operator, would generally prove rather ineffective. Such men—or women—do not appear on the conference floor. At the Conference the employers' and the workers' representatives very commonly look at things quite differently when a session opens, but not seldom after a month of discussion the Conference adopts its conventions or recommendations by almost or quite unanimous votes.

FASCIST LABOR DELEGATE OPPOSED

The representative of Mussolini's Fascist Corporations has had a hard time at the meetings. For four years the workers' group voted unanimously against accepting his credentials, and in 1926 the Government delegates from South Africa also voted against seating him, and those from Belgium had sufficient courage to cast no vote at all. The workers have absolutely refused to admit the Fascist labor delegate to their group discussions, though a new rule, adopted in the Summer of 1926, compels them to open their meetings to him, though not to give him a vote. The rejection of Mussolini's man suggests one of the great values of the Conference. It gives the public opinion of the world a chance to speak on questions involved in industry.

Lala Lajpat Rai, the workers' delegate from India, summed up this function of the organization when he said last Summer: "What we are attempting at this Conference is the creation of an international atmosphere bringing facts to light, and letting the moral consciousness of the world bring about what moral pressure it can on those countries where the conditions of labor are neither good nor desirable nor proper. That is all we can do. Let there be no misunderstanding. Nobody, so far as I know, tries in this Conference to dictate terms to any State, or to point the finger of scorn at any State for having done what he considers it was its duty to do." For the last two years the delegates from India have called Japan to task for her evasions and delays in putting an end to the work of women in factories at night and for not limiting the hours of labor. Such criticism cannot be without ultimate effect in the homeland. If a labor delegate does not feel able to speak out for his own people,

the delegate of some other land can make the thunder of public opinion heard there. But the labor delegates generally talk freely. In the eighth Conference, which ended with the dedication of the Labor Palace, the labor representative from Japan, with the Conference as his tribune, told the whole world that in his own country "there still exist many * * * pieces of repressive legislation depriving labor of its freedom of speech and of association."

What have the Labor Conferences and the Labor Office concerned themselves with? Seven years ago, at Washington, a start was made by passing conventions, that is, forms for international treaties, for the eight-hour day, insurance against unemployment, the protection of women from night work and at the time of childbirth, and against child labor. That Conference put the minimum age for employment in industrial establishments at fourteen years in Europe and America. In 1921 the Conference drew up a convention for a twenty-four-hour weekly rest for workers in "industrial undertakings." It even dealt with such a detailed matter as the medical examination of young persons who go to work on vessels, for the Conferences now consider a good many more or less technical questions. In 1926, for instance, the Conference on Emigration drafted a convention aimed at simplifying the inspection of emigrants on board ship. It also recommended that boats should have a woman conductress whenever more than fifteen unprotected women or children emigrants were sailing. It also asked for a preliminary report on the subject of native labor to be presented at its meeting in 1927. requested the International Labor Office to look into the matter of scientific management; and planned for the gathering of more information on unemployment.

Within eighteen months each delegation must put the conventions and recommendations adopted by the Conference before its Government for parliamentary or other action. The passing of a convention in the Labor Conference does not mean that all the nations immediately adopt it, but the conventions by no means become dead letters. Some countries with as yet undeveloped industries are accepting the plans virtually in their entirety. Bulgaria, for in-

stance, at one sweep approved all the conventions passed before 1925, except the old one forbidding the use of white phosphorus in matches, a convention with a different history from the others. She has not yet had time to take up those adopted in 1926. Even more important, Bulgaria has incorporated into law all but one of the conventions that she has approved, and in that one case is preparing the necessary legislation. Poland has almost as good a record. So has Estonia, though, like Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland and a good many other States, she has not ratified the one protecting women from work in industrial establishments for six weeks before and after childbirth.

GERMANY'S RECORD

The German Government has either ratified or recommended for ratification all the conventions up to 1925, with the one exception noted. France has done almost as well, though she has not accepted those setting minimum ages for farm workers or workers at sea. Great Britain has actually ratified more than France or Germany, but so far the British Parliament has refused to approve the eight-hour agreement. It has tried to have it modified or interpreted, holding that its terms are too rigid. So far, however, its attempts have borne no fruit. Some of the other nations greatly blame Great Britain for refusing to ratify the eight-hour convention as it stands. Her attitude makes it hard for smaller countries to act.

In spite of frequent laments by Conference delegates that the nations are not adopting the conventions and recommendations more rapidly, Albert Thomas, Director of the organization, sees no cause for discouragement. He points out that, as a practical matter, some six hundred ratifications are necessary to put into force all the schemes proposed up to 1924. Of that number the Governments have made or recommended 369.

The Governing Body, the executive of the Labor organization, consists of twenty-four members. As on the League Council the great powers have permanent seats, so in the Governing Body eight States of "chief industrial importance"—Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain,

India, Italy and Japan—hold permanent places. The delegates of the other Governments elect four other Government members and the employers and workers groups each elect six. The Governing Body, like the Conference, therefore consists, one-half of Government men and one-quarter each of employers and workers representatives. The Governing Body meets regularly four times a year. It prepares the agenda for the Conferences, carries out its resolutions, controls the policies of the Labor Office, and records what the countries belonging to the organization are doing to carry out their obligations.

The International Labor Office, the Secretariat of the organization, follows up the work of the annual Conferences. It gathers statistics from the ends of the earth. It studies a great variety of subjects, obvious ones like the health of miners or safety devices on trains, or less expected matters, such as means for finding employment for Russian refugees in South America. Indeed, in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro it has established free employment agencies for fugitives from Russia and Armenia.

Although the Labor organization is concerned only with labor and industry, it spends more than half as much as the League does in all its other work. In 1926 its budget amounted to over 7,000,000 Swiss francs, nearly \$1,500,000, while the budget of the League proper comes only to 12,500,000 Swiss francs. The Assembly of the League of Nations appropriates the money to support the Labor organization. Otherwise it has no authority over it. All the countries that belong to the League are in the Labor organization. Germany has belonged to it from the first. It is not hard to enumerate the nations that are outside: Ecuador, Hedjaz, Mexico, Russia, Turkey and the United States; with the addition of Costa Rica in 1927.

One word as to the Director of the Labor Office. When the general staffs were mobilizing their millions for war in 1914 the militarists felt that if the Socialists of France—and perhaps of Europe—were to play their part in the general slaughter, they must silence one great voice, and an assassin's bullet put an end to Jaurès. The Ministers of War had their

carnival, and the earth was sick of it. The nations came to the conclusion that they must plan for peace. It was not enough to be rid of kaisers and secret treaties. So they wrote down all together: "And whereas conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled, and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required * * *"—these words came from the Treaty of Versailles itself—therefore they would set up a Labor organization. They then looked for a director. When Jaurès fell a martyr to his hatred of war his constituents had chosen as his nearest successor a certain Albert Thomas, and of all men on earth the Governing Body of the new Labor organization selected him to guide the world toward a better day for the worker.

BENEFITS TO WORKERS

Has the International Labor organization really made any practical difference in people's lives? Let us take the story of the bakers. Customs in regard to the sale of bread have led to a great deal of night work in bakeries. In Hungary, for instance, practically every man in the country buys his bread on his way to work in the morning. The bakers have had to start by 4 o'clock to get the loaves ready in time. In Australia and New Zealand, in order to get the bread into the carts early enough, the bakers have begun work at midnight, or at 1 or 2 A. M. One might go on with the story of night baking pretty well around the globe. Yet people would be none the worse off if bakers did their work by day. Two years ago the Labor Conference therefore passed a tentative convention providing that every bakery should close at least seven hours at night—those hours to include the interval between 11 P. M. and 5 A. M. unless climate or the season made the interval between 10 P. M. and 4 A. M. preferable.

In many bakeries the proprietor alone does much, if not all, of the work. If the convention did not apply to these proprietors the little bakeries would have a great advantage over the larger ones. People who insisted on having bread fresh from

the oven would make it virtually impossible to run the bakeries with due regard to the good of the bakers themselves. Experience had so proved. In a number of countries where the legislatures have passed laws forbidding employers to work their bakers at night, many owners have nominally taken their men into partnership, and so kept up the old hours. The Conference therefore made the convention apply not only to employes, but also to employers who worked in their own bakeries. The employers' group in the Conference declared that the Labor organization had no power over employers and had overstepped its authority. The organization put the question to the World Court. In a decision handed down in the Summer of 1926, the Court ruled that in order to protect employes the organization can propose legislation which would incidentally regulate employers' work. Germany and Latvia have already passed legislation that carries out this convention. France and Holland are preparing the necessary laws. The Governments of Estonia and Finland have recommended it to their Parliaments. That represents rapid work for Governments.

John Masfield, the English poet, recently said that in his days at sea "sailors were not treated either well or badly. They weren't treated at all, but neglected. In those days the captains opposed bettering the seaman's condition. They said that 'spoiling' him would destroy discipline, and by 'spoiling' they apparently meant hitting him with a rope instead of with a piece of board. But the seaman's conditions are now quite presentable and he can live much as if here ashore." In this improvement the International Labor organization has a growing share. Six years ago at Genoa the Labor Conference devoted its whole session to the welfare of sailors—the first international gathering ever to take up the problem. In the old days, if a vessel were lost or foundered the common sailor not only very likely lost all his possessions, but his employment also, and the wages that were due to him for the rest of the voyage. The Genoa conference passed a convention providing unemployment indemnity for seamen whose ship had been lost. Sweden, Finland, Portugal,

Japan and China still lag behind in accepting the new provision, but practically all the rest of the maritime world has adopted it. The work of the Conference also resulted in a prohibition against boys under 14 sailing from any of the sailor-supplying lands save France, Portugal and China. One might go on with an account of the free employment agencies for seamen, adjusted to the plan for general free employment agencies which the first Conference had adopted and which has spread through a great part of the industrial world. The Conference in 1926, in addition, provided that henceforth employers must pay the cost of getting the shipwrecked mariner home and strengthened regulations concerning his contract with his employer.

ABUSES OF CHILD LABOR

In many matters the Labor organization has been consolidating gains already made by the leading industrial nations and extending them among the less developed peoples. The influence of the organization has, for example, raised the minimum age at which children in India can go to work in factories from 9 to 12 and reduced their hours of labor from seven to six. The factory laws in India used to apply only to shops with fifty or more employes; now they apply to those with twenty workers, or, if the local Government will, to those with only ten. India, too, has established free employment exchanges. These reforms are only typical of many more.

The story of the juvenile rugmakers in the Persian city of Kerman provides another example. Six years ago they worked in unventilated factories, only lighted from the skylight. Rows of children, some of them under 5, most of them not much more than kindergarten age, sat on narrow boards weaving as they swung in midair in front of the big looms. Every child doubled his legs under the board to hold his risky seat and curved over his back for lack of a back rest. They stayed on the board from sunrise to sunset, or longer, all the time monotonously chanting the pattern of the rug, the only way they could remember it. They did not even get down for meals. When at last the manager low-

ered the boards at night some of them could not even unbend their legs, and remained on the board helpless until an older member of the family came and carried them off. The seat on the narrow board had completed its work of making cripples of them. The others were on the way to the same fate. When the crippled girls married at 9 or 10 the first baby meant their certain death. In Persia no one seemed to be concerned except the missionaries, who did all they could to educate public opinion. But only the Government could stop the abuse. Some of the missionary physicians explained the situation to Sir Malcolm Delevingue, who represented Great Britain on the Governing Body.

The first Labor Conference had exempted China, Persia and Siam for the time being from the agreement to limit the working day to eight hours and to forbid work by children in factories. But the three Oriental countries had accepted the principle that the law should protect workers in factories and had promised faithfully to let the Labor Office know what they were doing to that end. Toward the close of 1920 the Labor Office asked the Persian Chargé d'Affaires at Berne about the Kerman rug factories. It took another diplomatic move to stir the Teheran authorities, but in 1921 the organization received a communication from the Persian Government stating that it had ordered the local authorities at Kerman to compel the rug factory owners to light their factories properly, ventilate them and warm them in Winter, provide seats with a back rest and at least eleven inches broad and eleven inches above the ground, and employ no child under 8 in the factories and make no child under 14 work for more than eight hours.

When the Labor organization dedicated its new building on a Sunday morning nobody offered a prayer, neither Christian nor Mohammedan nor Buddhist. So far as I know, the word "God" did not once appear in the speeches that day, but for all that, beside Lake Geneva, the word of the Hebrew prophet is coming to fulfillment. At the heart of the world the poor and needy and such as have no helper are finding a friend.

WORLD FINANCE

A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH, Assistant Editor of *The Annalist*

BUSINESS conditions in the United States, after several months of gradual recession, took a turn for the better in February. Iron and steel output, as well as production in other basic industries, increased by more than the normal seasonal amount; and debits to individual accounts in 140 cities outside New York, representing total check payments in the leading commercial and industrial centres, were with seasonal correction the largest since last July, and with the exception of that month they were the largest on record.

Heavy gold imports since the first of the year have resulted in a marked increase in the supply of loanable funds, and banks throughout the country have been able to reduce their borrowings from the Federal Reserve banks. Allowing for normal seasonal variation, total reserve bank credit in use in February was on the average about 8 per cent. lower than in January, with the decrease due almost entirely to a more than seasonal decline in the amount of bills discounted for member banks. Commercial loans by reporting member banks of the entire system, which reached the largest total on record last November, declined by more than the usual seasonal amount from January to February; and loans on stocks and bonds, although showing only a slight decrease in these two months, were in the aggregate well below the peak of last September.

In these circumstances interest rates, the composite measure of credit supply and demand, were naturally forced to still lower levels. But it remained for a more spectacular event to focus public attention on the credit situation. On March 7 came the announcement of the Treasury's plan for refunding the Second Liberty Loan 4½ per cent. bonds, by which investors were given the opportunity of exchanging their holdings for new 3½ per cent. five-year Treasury notes. Soon after the announcement that the quarterly financing operations of the Government would consist of two offerings of Treasury certificates to the total amount of \$450,000,000, bearing interest at 3½ and 3¼ per cent., the disclosure of the refunding plan stimulated active buying in long-term Government maturities on account of the low rates at which the new issues were offered. The 3½ per cent. rate is the

lowest at which any long-term obligation of the United States, with the exception of the First Liberty Loan (which, however, had tax exemption privileges), has been placed since the pre-war period.

Another aspect of these announcements that excited widespread public interest was the inference that, since approximately \$660,000,000 in Treasury notes of 1923 would mature March 15, it was apparent that the Treasury was planning to reduce the public debt by about \$200,000,000 and would still be able, with the assistance of March tax receipts, to carry on its operations until the middle of June, when another income tax instalment will become due. Early estimates of the total of income and profits tax receipts for March indicated that they might easily reach \$600,000,000, or \$100,000,000 more than the receipts of March, 1926.

On the New York Stock Exchange prices continued to advance throughout February, but early in March there was a rather sharp reaction, after which trading became less active, with prices alternately rising and falling without a definite trend in either direction.

An event of outstanding significance was the signing, on Feb. 25, of the McFadden banking bill by the President. Authorities on banking and finance are generally of the opinion that the provisions of the bill, though perhaps not all that could have been desired in the way of constructive banking legislation, greatly strengthen the national banking system. Briefly, the most important provisions of the new law are those concerned with the Federal Reserve System, those which deal with branch banking and those of which the purpose is to wipe out certain disadvantages under which national banks have long suffered in competition with banks operating under State charters.

No extraordinary changes in financial conditions abroad have occurred within the month. In Great Britain, in view of the many optimistic opinions expressed at the end of 1926, the slow rate of recovery from the effects of the coal strike has been rather disappointing. Commodity prices continue to decline, and the only industries which

Continued on Page xxii.

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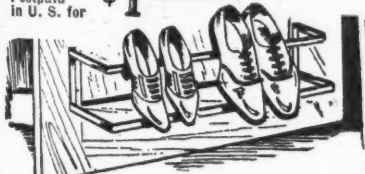


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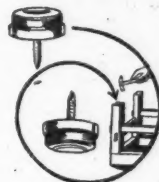


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American Imperialism

By JOHN CARTER

Author of *Man Is War*

PROFESSOR MOON'S new book* is an attempt to analyze and interpret the great subject of contemporary imperialism, that is, the development of colonial policies since 1875, their economic and political motivations, and their effects on international politics. In it are revealed the qualities and defects of American scholarship as practiced in our Eastern universities. Here is a book that is confused in its approach, illogical in its conclusions, but which contains a vast deal of meticulous "leg-work" and some really valuable information. *Imperialism and World Politics* is, however, utterly inorganic, in the sense that it moves mechanically across the field it covers and fetches up at some *a priori* conclusions in the face of the evidence which it adduces.

In the first place, it is painfully apparent that Professor Moon does not know what he means by "imperialism." In the course of his narrative, he is constantly redefining (occasionally rhetorically) the term on which he predicates his entire work. "World politics," he begins, "it is a phrase to conjure with! Imperialism has given birth to world-wide empires, to world-wide diplomacy." He says that he intends to view imperialism "both as an achievement and as a world problem." Here follow some of his efforts to tell the reader what he is talking about: "Imperialism means domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations"—"Imperialism, in the form that has been so conspicuous since 1875, is a peculiarly European product. * * * America has not yet been * * * wholly converted to European imperialism"—"Need one add that railways are the steel girders of empire?"—"The open door is almost the opposite of imperialism"—"Self-determination and empire are irreconcilable foes"—"In the strict sense, imperialism means the exercise of power, domination"—"The 'old imperialism' and the new 'trusteeship' cannot live together in so small a world as ours."

For a scholar attempting to discuss a most vital aspect of world politics such mental con-

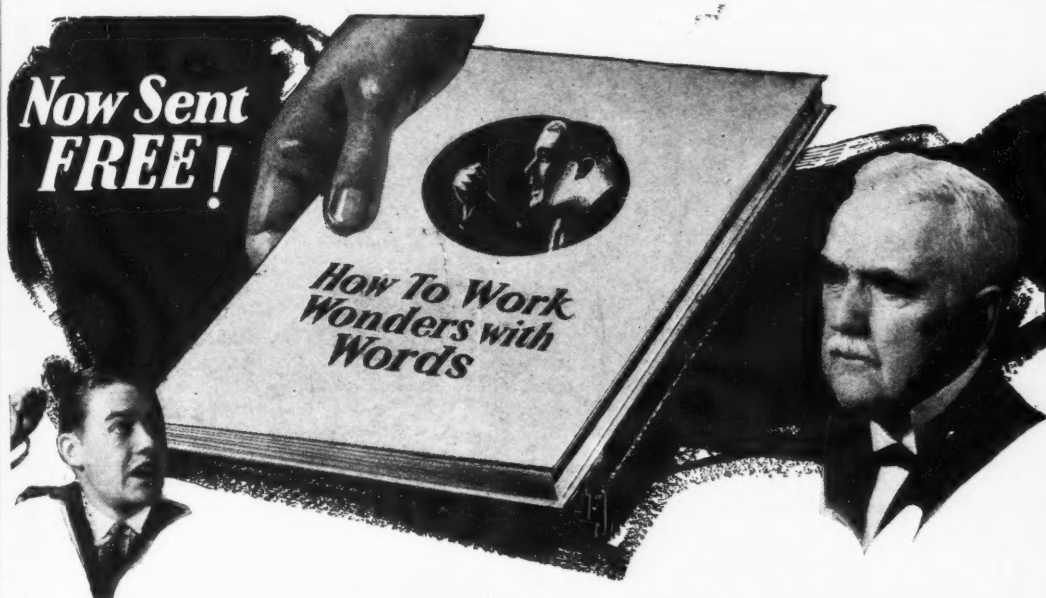
fusion is deplorable, a decisive weakness in his whole book. One need not quibble over syllables to assert that imperialism (in view of the subject matter here discussed) is a political term, implying the extension of national sovereignty over alien peoples through Governmental action. General policies, such as the "Open Door Doctrine" or British "Free Trade" diplomacy or the "Most Favored Nation" principle, designed to promote or protect foreign commerce, cannot be termed imperialism. Neither can one rank as imperialism the activities of individual merchants and companies in seeking to extend their interests. They may set the stage for political imperialism, but their concessions (unless secured through diplomacy or conquest) are not imperialistic. It is only by a clear perception of the vital factor in imperialism as it relates to world politics, namely, specific Governmental action, that one can appreciate the defects of this ponderous and laborious analysis of world affairs.

Imperialism seeks to subvert alien sovereignty, not to create it; imperialism seeks special favors of a military or economic nature, not disarmament or the "Open Door." Expansion is an altogether different affair. Nations can expand their interests through trade, through investment, through emigration. In so doing they are obeying the law of nature which bids everything endowed with life to "get on in the world." Nations can and have expanded without imperialism, but there always comes a time when they are tempted to consolidate expansion in political terms. This produces imperialism, but not inevitably. Professor Moon has confused expansion with imperialism and has, accordingly, written a book which is fundamentally unsound.

This does not detract from the value of parts of his performance. His chapters on the origin and the dynamics of modern European imperialism are stimulating and not entirely inaccurate. He takes up past ideas of empire and shows how, about 1875, Europe began the great colonial expansion which sprang from the conceptions of economic necessity, surplus goods, surplus capital, surplus population, and the political theories

Continued on Page iv.

**Imperialism and World Politics*, by Thomas Parker Moon, Ph. D., Associate Professor of International Relations in Columbia University. 583 pp., with sixteen maps. New York: The Macmillan Company.



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Continued from Page ii.

which they engendered. England's "absence of mind," which netted her most of Eastern Africa, France's drive for colonial markets and naval bases, Germany's cautious and belated entry into the race, these are correlated to the demand for tropical products and the revolution wrought by steam and electricity in the sphere of communications.

In the "Dynamics of Imperialism" Professor Moon is not so happy. He singles out individual business interests as the *causa causans* of modern imperialism—iron and cotton manufacturers, importing firms, shipping magnates, makers of armament and uniforms and, inevitably, the bankers. This very superficial differentiation fails to take account of the fact that these same manufacturers, importers, shippers and bankers are integral parts of industrial society and that their actions obey the laws of the capitalistic world, do not act singly or irresponsibly, but as they are driven by the economic forces of which they are both representatives and the expression. He is equally absurd in his dismissal of such imperialistic motives as self-defense, altruism, and the "notion that a nation's honor and prestige must be zealously cherished" as "the cries spread broadcast by imperialist propaganda." Nations have been conquered to date; individuals do set some store on personal honor and reputation; altruism and religion do play a part in the uneconomic hinterland of our activities. If the State is but the sum of its citizens, as this professor would be the first to argue, it must reflect their personalities and protect their persons, just as an individual aspires to lead his own life without molestation. However, Professor Moon is enamored of the more seductive thesis. Here is his recapitulation of the imperial process:

Altruism, national honor, economic nationalism, surplus population, self-protection—such are the principles or ideas which nerve nations to valiant feats of empire building. The initiative, to be sure, is taken by interests; but the support is given by ideas. When a colony or a protectorate is acquired, the first steps are taken, as a rule, by the business or naval or missionary interests * * *; not infrequently the public, ignorant not only of what has been going on, but even of the geographical location of the region about to be annexed, is confronted with an accomplished deed, a *fait accompli*, which needs only to be officially solemnified, popularly applauded, and perchance, defended. Then the ideas function. The public rallies to the support of importer, exporter, banker, or shipper, missionary, administrator, admiral, or explorer. Imperialism, nay, all history, is made by the dynamic alliance of interests and ideas.

Fourteen chapters follow this assertion, chapters dedicated to an examination of imperialism as it has worked out in Africa (East,

West, Tropical, South and North), the Near East, the Middle East, Southern Asia, the Far East, the Pacific, Latin America, Europe, and the Mandates dealt out after the European War. "Then and then only," says the professor, "shall we be in a position for generalized conclusions."

It is at this point that the reader realizes that the author has a definite objective. Knowing his identification with the League of Nations propaganda in this country, one suspects what this objective will be—the exaltation of the League as the mechanism through which public opinion can be directed to the destruction of imperialism. Inasmuch as the United States is not a member of the League, it also implies an identification of our colonial methods with those of the European States whose iniquities he recites at great length. From this point on it is of interest to see how well—or how badly—Professor Moon dodges the ugly facts which invalidate his thesis. He is bound to admit that the powers which dominate the League are the greatest and most unrepentant imperialists in the world. Point by point, he shows how Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan and pre-war Russia and Germany were up to the hilt in intrigues and partitions. He has, further, the intellectual honesty to admit that matters did not mend with the war. Sarajevo was only "a crucial move in the Near Eastern chess game." He is forced to describe Russia's shrewd stealing of American thunder in her post-war foreign policy toward Turkey, Persia, China and her own Asiatic dependencies, but he is quite incapable of seeing in them anything but a new type of "Red imperialism." Nothing worth counteracting or imitating. To cure American "imperialism" he would have us throw in our lot with the arch-imperialists. But this is an over-elaboration of his theories and an anticipation of his conclusions.

The material covered in this central portion of his book is ably edited and thoroughly documented. He covers the present state of the Pacific with the statement that the United States got the plums, the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii and Samoa, four of the best strategic harbors and two of the richest island groups, and concludes that "nominally, the Washington Conference substituted a Four-Power Pact for the Anglo-Japanese alliance; practically, it revealed an Anglo-American entente." He assumes, for the purpose of argument, that it is our intention to retain the Philippines, a point not by any means settled, but one convenient to critics of our policy.

It is when he approaches our Latin-American policy that he unmasks his objective. His quarrel is, actually, with our expansion, which

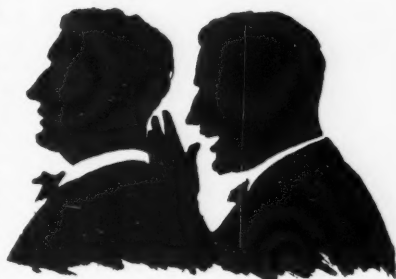
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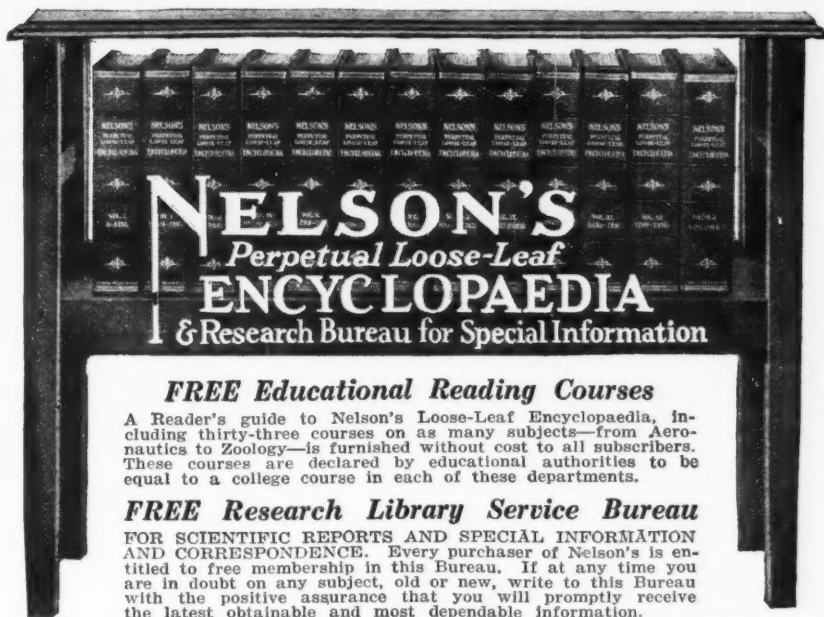
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he labels as imperialism, and any stick is good enough to beat this dog with. Despite the solemn assurances of Woodrow Wilson and Charles Evans Hughes that we "will never again seek an additional foot of territory by conquest," despite the Wilson and Hughes doctrines which assert that "we are aiming not to exploit, but to aid; not to subvert, but to help in laying the foundations for sound, stable, and independent government" and that "it is * * * the policy * * * henceforth not to recognize any Central American Government that is not formed along constitutional lines," despite the evidence of the evacuations which have followed our Caribbean interventions, Professor Moon fastens on this country the label of imperialist. He asserts, for example, that we insist on the "right of vetoing concessions" in the Caribbean area, on the basis of the fact that we withheld recognition from a revolutionary Costa Rican Government which had granted concessions to Lord Cowdray. The Tinoco Government was overthrown by a constitutionalist revolt, which we recognized and which revoked the Cowdray concessions. "Costa Rica is 'independent,'" he sneers, "but her Governments must respect the new Monroe Doctrine, the doctrine that the United States has a veto on concessions." This is cheap demagoguery. In the diplomacy of colonial partition our veto would have gone direct to London. Similar cheapness is found in his fling at the early Mexican oil dispute: "Huerta was regarded in Washington as a tool of Lord Cowdray, the British oil baron, who at this time was seeking additional concessions not only in Mexico but also in Colombia. And accordingly Wilson decided not to recognize Huerta as President of Mexico." This gratuitous piece of smartness he is impelled to retract a few lines later by saying: "In all this Wilson was acting not as an imperialist * * * but as an anti-imperialist, and as a democrat."

It is by such methods that Professor Moon builds up a thesis that the Caribbean is our colonial empire. Yet he is puzzled by the evidence. "It may be pointed out in this connection," he admits, "that the American method is more subtle, achieving as it does the desired financial and economic domina-

tion without political annexation, and often, as in the case of Cuba, without much impairing self-government." The fact is that, for all our police-raids in the Caribbean, for all our Panama Canal and Nicaraguan canal treaties, for all our occupations and house-cleanings in our Mediterranean, our diplomacy works on the basis of self-determination and the Open Door—two factors which, according to Professor Moon, are incompatible with imperialism. If our trade and investments flow into certain countries it means a certain non-administrative influence on their local politics, since under no form of government is it possible to prevent a million dollars from exercising the franchise. Jobs and economic interests figure in elections the world over, but this is not necessarily imperialism. However, Professor Moon wishes to show our identity with the Britain which seized and still holds Egypt, with the France which conquered and "assimilated" Madagascar, and with the others in the Geneva gallery, to demonstrate his thesis. Although he finds that "racial and geographical facts make it all the more surprising that Latin America should be politically free," he sees our subtlety in the fact that the imperialism of the Platt Amendment "sought its profits in the economic prosperity and political stability of Cuba." He swoops down on Haiti—"this meant a protectorate, if there ever was one." He wants to mutualize the Monroe Doctrine, in other words, to ignore the basic law of representation, in order that we, with half the population of the hemisphere, let alone economic and military power, should be on a parity with, say, Salvador in assuring the peace and order of the New World.

Professor Moon's final chapters on the European conflict between imperialism and nationalism and the League mandates are soothingly written. He finds that the Free City of Danzig and the League "control" of the Saar basin compensate for the folly of Versailles. Although he admits that the Allies manipulated the mandates so as to fulfill all the secret treaties (excepting those in favor of Russia) and leave the League powerless to control the partitioned German colonies and the Near East, he feels that the "principle of trusteeship" for the native races, embodied

Continued on Page viii.

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Continued from Page vi.

in the League Mandates Commission, is a new and vital factor in the situation. He sums up in a chapter which ranks as established facts his earlier tentative assumptions. Thus he assigns to us a colonial empire including Liberia, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Panama and Nicaragua (which will astonish the State Department). He concludes that economic necessity is outworn, that "as it becomes more difficult to export surplus capital, the remedy is to spend the surplus," and that hence there is no real need for colonies. Raw materials, he finds, follow supply and demand rather than the flag; monopoly or even economic self-sufficiency is impossible. What is the answer? Not Russia's adroit surrender of special privileges in Asia, which has won for her the popularity once enjoyed by the United States. Not the surrender of Russian sovereignty over the former Czarist dependencies and their conversion as allies. Not the absorption by the State of the whole process of international trade. That is only a "sort of Red imperialism." The League, not for what it is, but for what it might have been, is the cure for imperialism. Here is his conclusion: "If international opinion—or, to use Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's happier phrase, 'the international mind'—continues to develop as it has developed in recent years, it can hardly fail to assail the strong citadels of self-seeking imperialism."

Professor Moon's book is written in a dispassionate tone that conceals illogic and inaccuracy behind the matter-of-factness of a prospective text-book. He has failed to dominate or to see through his subject. He is frankly Europocentric in viewpoint, incapable of grasping the fact that both Russia and the United States have devised new methods of expanding national influence without extending national sovereignty. The nations in the League are the most notable offenders against the sovereignty of "inferior" races; Russia and the United States are the least open to the charge of imperialism. It seems a poor solution to urge either to conform to an organization conceived in victory and dedicated to the guardianship of the spoils of a great war.

Other Books of the Month

EUROPA: An Illustrated Year-Book of Europe, 1927. Edited by Michael Farbman, Ramsay Muir and Hugh F. Spender. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$5.

This unique reference book has as its aim "to provide from year to year an accurate barometer of European politics, finance, industry, culture and life." The first edition appeared in 1926, and it will be seen that the present edition improves on the former in many ways. The book is now divided into

three main sections: first, a statistical abstract of economic and social conditions, providing a complete picture of the more striking developments in Europe as a whole; second, a Who's Who and Directory of Europeans distinguished in politics, trade, science, art or literature in all countries; third, an annotated bibliography listing all recent books of importance. There are more than one hundred distinguished contributors to this valuable work, including H. G. Wells, Francesco Nitti, H. J. Laski, Ramsay Muir, Arnold J. Toynbee, and Jean Longuet; in fact, all of the articles are contributed by writers who have international reputations and are recognized as authorities on the subjects with which they deal. In general, this survey furnishes the student, statesman, journalist, industrialist and banker, as well as the general reader, with a source of reference and a compendium of information not elsewhere available.

THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE AND THEIR DIPLOMACY. Ten vols. Edited by Samuel Flagg Bemis. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$4 per vol.

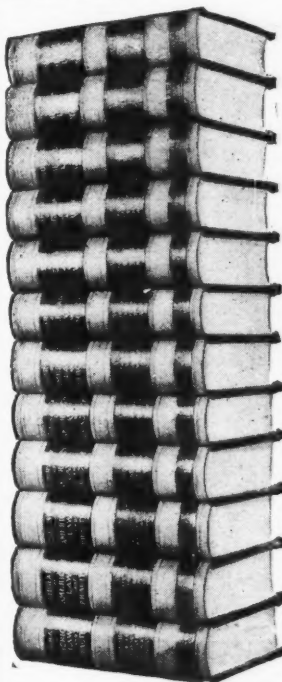
Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, who has written the preface to this interesting series, states its purpose as follows:

These volumes are intended to record the history of a great public office in terms of the lives of the men who have successfully held it, as well as the history and the development of the international policies of the Government of the United States in terms of the public acts and expressions of the men who have been successively charged with the statement of them. The plain purpose is to bring vividness and life into what might readily become a dry and uninteresting history. By interweaving the story of the activities and the personalities of the men who have held the office of Secretary of State with the story of the work of that office itself, it is hoped and believed that a very large number of readers, both in this country and elsewhere, will be brought to take a new interest in matters of foreign policy and foreign relationship and to have a new understanding of them.

The editor and board of advisers that have conducted the task of compilation are all eminently well fitted for such work. Dr. Samuel Flagg Bemis, the editor, is head of the Department of History of George Washington University; J. Franklin Jameson is Director of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institute of Washington and editor of the *American Historical Review*; H. Barrett Learned was a delegate in 1923 to the Fifth International Congress on History held in Brussels; James Brown Scott is President of the American Institute of International Law and Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Sponsored by such experts, this series should indeed be authoritative and this promise is borne out by the first two volumes which have appeared, covering the

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A HISTORY OF BARBADOS: 1625-1685. By Vincent Harlow. New York: Oxford University Press. \$7.

"Eastward of all the West Indian group the island of Barbados lies alone, fronting the long unceasing roll of the Atlantic. Thrust up in some far distant age from the deep ocean bed, it lay for many dreaming centuries untenanted and silent, save for the boom of the surf on the encircling coral reef and the scream of wheeling birds among the tropic woods. And then the European world began to stir, moved by a new impulse. English adventurers came full of greed and mysticism to probe and wonder at and desecrate. * * * They brought in their wake much evil doing and sordid discord. * * * Time has done much for the healing of these wounds, although a scar remains in the form of a complex racial problem. The wild luxuriance of the older time is gone and in its room is an ordered beauty of man's fashioning."

It is this impingement of civilization on the primeval wilderness that is the keynote of Mr. Harlow's work. The whole 400-page volume is devoted to a comparatively short period of Barbados history—the first sixty years of the English occupation—but in that time was determined the whole later history, and in the blunders and evils introduced by the first colonists are the roots of all the problems that now vex the island.

FRANCE. By Sisley Huddleston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

"The France of today, economic, financial, political, social and religious with enough history to explain it." This, in brief, is the substance of Mr. Huddleston's work, a notable addition to Scribner's valuable Modern World Series, the aim of which is "to provide a balanced survey, with such historical illustrations as are necessary, of the tendencies and forces, political, economic, intellectual, which are molding the lives of contemporary states." Mr. Huddleston expresses his hopes of France thus:

Fate has conspired with men to shatter the universe to bits and French intellect is endeavoring to remould it nearer to the heart's desire. The historian may hereafter find that those Frenchmen who, in the early days of the war, endeavored to make the voice of Reason heard, and those Frenchmen who, after the war sought to systematize the vague aspirations of Humanity toward better things, were the true prophets of a new era. The politicians and the diplomatists do not come out well from any conscientious study of the past half century because they worked in traditional grooves, but the thinkers and artists and the anonymous crowd of generous-minded Frenchmen are helping to restore to their country the rôle in which France likes to cast herself—that of the intellectual mother of Europe.

To and From Our Readers

THE Editor with a due sense of humility, yet with a pride that is pardonable, cannot refrain from directing attention to the importance, the diversity and the timeliness of the group of special articles which appear in this issue from the pens of the historians who compose the Board of Associates of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The topics embrace the significant events of dramatic interest which are now occurring in all parts of the world. Episodes of epochal interest have occurred in recent weeks in different portions of the globe, entirely unrelated, yet pregnant with possibilities of historic consequences. They touch the intimate life and interests of widely separated peoples from many angles, and deal with developments in varied domains of human activity. Each chapter is the studied result of carefully sifted information from varied sources, interpreted impartially by penetrating minds trained to analyze conflicting reports, weighing well their conclusions with the sincerity which distinguishes the unbiased historian.

* * *

A. B. Seamans, author of "Three Centuries of the Submarine," which appeared in the April issue, writes the Editor as follows:

Through an oversight in checking up corrected and uncorrected proofs a few slight errors slipped into my article on the submarine as finally published. Though this involved omission of the latest totals, the grand total of the world's under-sea strength as stated needs little modification. The situation as it is at present would be correctly described as follows:

Since the war the menace of the submarine has increased twofold or more in size, cruising radius and offensive and defensive powers. Against 216 craft enumerated in 1914 by the five leading naval Powers of the present day, the United States alone is credited with more than half that total, while the building program outlined by France projects no less than 75 vessels. Rosters constantly are changing as construction proceeds and obsolescent boats are retired, but recent returns gave Great Britain 57 active craft, United States 117, Japan 60, France 61 and Italy 42, aggregating 337, over 100 more than in the days of naval competition. Sixty-three are under construction by these Powers, England building 6, United States 3, Japan 14, France and Italy 20 each, while France leads all Powers in its proposed flotilla, 27 boats being authorized in a tentative fleet of 75 units. Great Britain, concluding an experimental period, plans 24, Japan coming third with 13, Italy four with 8 and United States last with 3.

An error due to a misunderstanding should also be corrected in the reference to the Plunger, first submersible of the United States, as a "Dutch" boat. The Plunger was a "Holland"

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Table of Contents of March 15th issue (46 pages).

1. Report of the National Bank of Belgium for 1926.
2. American Debt Policy.
3. British Army Estimates for 1927.
4. Fleets of the World.
5. Greece in the World War.
6. The Opening of the Russian Archives.
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Charles E. Richmond of Butler, Pa., writes as follows:

I cannot permit Dr. Gunther Frantz's article, "Did Russian Mobilization Force War in 1914?" in April **CURRENT HISTORY**, to pass unchallenged. The answer to that question, in my opinion, is a most emphatic "No."

It was inevitable and merely evidence of common sense that all countries that felt themselves in danger, after the publication of the Austrian note to Serbia, should push military preparations as rapidly as possible as a measure of self-defense during those tense days toward the end of July, 1914. Undoubtedly there were troop movements in Germany, France and Russia simultaneously. Yet such preparations would have ceased immediately had Germany been willing to submit the Austro-Serbian dispute to the judgment of the Great Powers. I say Germany, because Austria, in all essentials, had become her vassal.

When Germany permitted Austria to launch an attack on Serbia, she was guilty of starting the World War. Nothing can change or alter that stark historic fact.

There was one method only by which the war might have been averted after Austria had begun the bombardment of Belgrade, and that was to halt the Austrian advance and call upon the Powers to sift the Austrian charges and render judgment. This Germany refused to do, hence the war was inevitable.

Russian mobilization did not necessarily mean war. However, she had evidently determined that she would not permit Austria to crush Serbia unchallenged. There can be no question but what Germany ardently desired the humiliation of Serbia, as that little country blocked its path and prevented the ripening of its "Mittel Europa" plan.

What I wish to point out is that in this crisis, which led to the World War, Germany ran true to form. The military masters of Germany in the twentieth century were still governed by the international political ethics of the eighteenth century. The military record of Prussia from the days of Frederick the Great until the formation of the German Empire is the record of an habitual criminal. The violation of the Treaty of Berlin by Austria, backed by Germany in 1909, in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was a criminal act. Its bloodless success was undoubtedly one of the reasons why Germany steadfastly refused to advise Austria to submit the Serbian dispute to the Powers. Russia had submitted in 1909. Why not in 1914? So Germany sat tight and refused to budge, waiting for Russia to back down. So came the World War.

It may be that the future will show that this immense tragedy was not altogether in vain. The military power of Germany has been shattered. That small military clique that ruled with almost absolute power beneath the shadow of an hereditary Emperor has been dethroned. That racial monstrosity, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, has vanished. Under the vigilant guidance of the League of Nations, Europe is rapidly recovering. The World Court is functioning healthfully and supplying a long-felt want. It is not wise to be too optimistic, yet I believe that we have good reason to hope that a new and better era is about to dawn.

* * *

[Additional correspondence on Page xxi in advertising section at back of magazine.]

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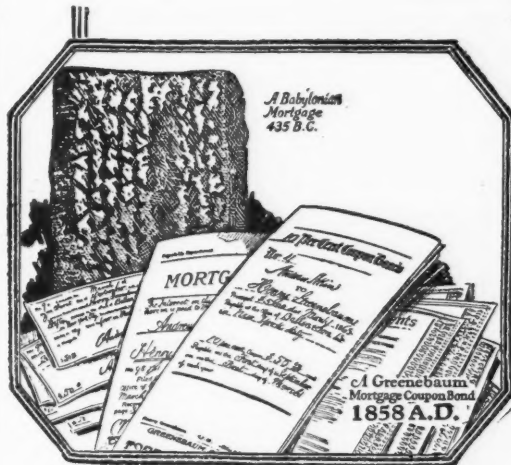
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Continued from Page xxii.

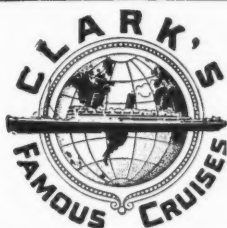
part-time historians is as remarkable as it is exasperating.

The point is illustrated, both negatively and affirmatively, by two articles in this month's *CURRENT HISTORY*. In "A Plea for the Unvarnished Truth," Walter Hart Blumenthal culls a sheaf of inaccuracies as to historical minutiae from heretofore widely used texts, adding thereto a number of his own making; and in "Baseless Slanders on Great Men" Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard shows that there is nevertheless "no remedy" for previous error "in an incomplete statement of the causes and forces," for example, which have actuated great historical movements. If it was inexact to represent the War of the Revolution as a spontaneous and unanimous demand for liberty on the part of the American colonists, it is a graver offense to deny the outstanding fact that, "whatever their previous differences, the American people preferred a separate, republican and federated Government; and their ultimate right to that decision was settled once for all at Boston and Saratoga and Trenton and Yorktown. . . ."

Mr. Blumenthal objects to our "doting on our wise and pious ancestors, as the Massachusetts constitution designates them." Professor Hart reminds us that the present generation already is sufficiently aware of the defects of its forefathers, but is able to comprehend their virtues as well. Mr. Blumenthal has a caustic arraignment of the economic and business depravity of the revolutionary patriots; but the truth is that "not a single Colony or city was organized for any such financial strain as that imposed by a long-continued war." Also the charge that there was profiteering during the Revolution, as there has been as an incident to all wars, is as false in its implications, when not presented in connection with other facts, as would be an assertion that there was no patriotic impulse among Americans then or later during the World War.

Mr. Blumenthal intimates that the Continentals at Valley Forge suffered, not from privations, but from profiteering exactions. The truth is, of course, that there was suffering, from whatever cause; and as to Washington, on whom the batteries of detraction have recently been centred, it is true also, as Professor Hart says, that it was "chiefly due to Washington as a centralizing force that the army was held together at all." The fulminators against what they disparagingly term "hero worship" tell only part of the story. Overreaching themselves in the direction of iconoclasm, they create impressions more false to the spirit of history than the saccharine outpourings of Parson Weems.

There is deliberateness of apparent intent to weaken morale by overemphasis of inconsequential facts which did not figure in final results, which is in itself more disturbing than mere inadvertence of statement could possibly be. Taken out of association with all that occurred during the so-called Critical Period, the declaration that "for some years after the war it may almost be said that the majority of Americans were disloyal" might be taken as an apology for present-day outlawry. The dominating truth here is that out of a situation without precedent in the annals of the world the same Americans, wrongly labeled "disloyal," created a system of order with only incidental disturbance, made mistakes but corrected them, and in theory and in substance gave ultimate effect to the genius that permeates the Declaration of Independence. Carping critics of the so-called Critical Period are for some reason peculiarly prone to stress the fallacious and to omit the indubitably heroic in the annals of these most trying times. . . .



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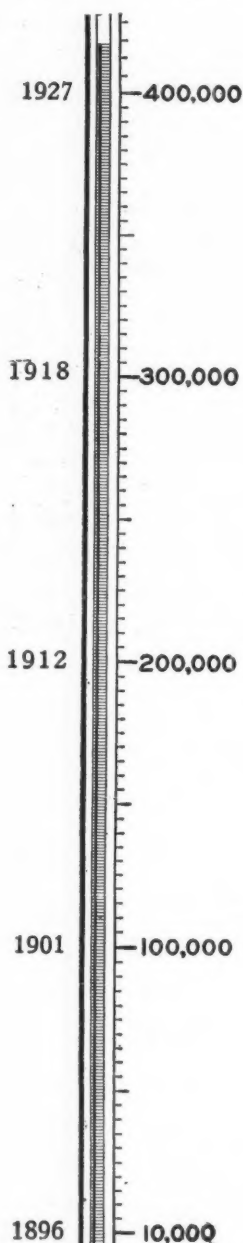
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MUSSOLINI

A Recent Portrait by Alfredo Vaccari

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